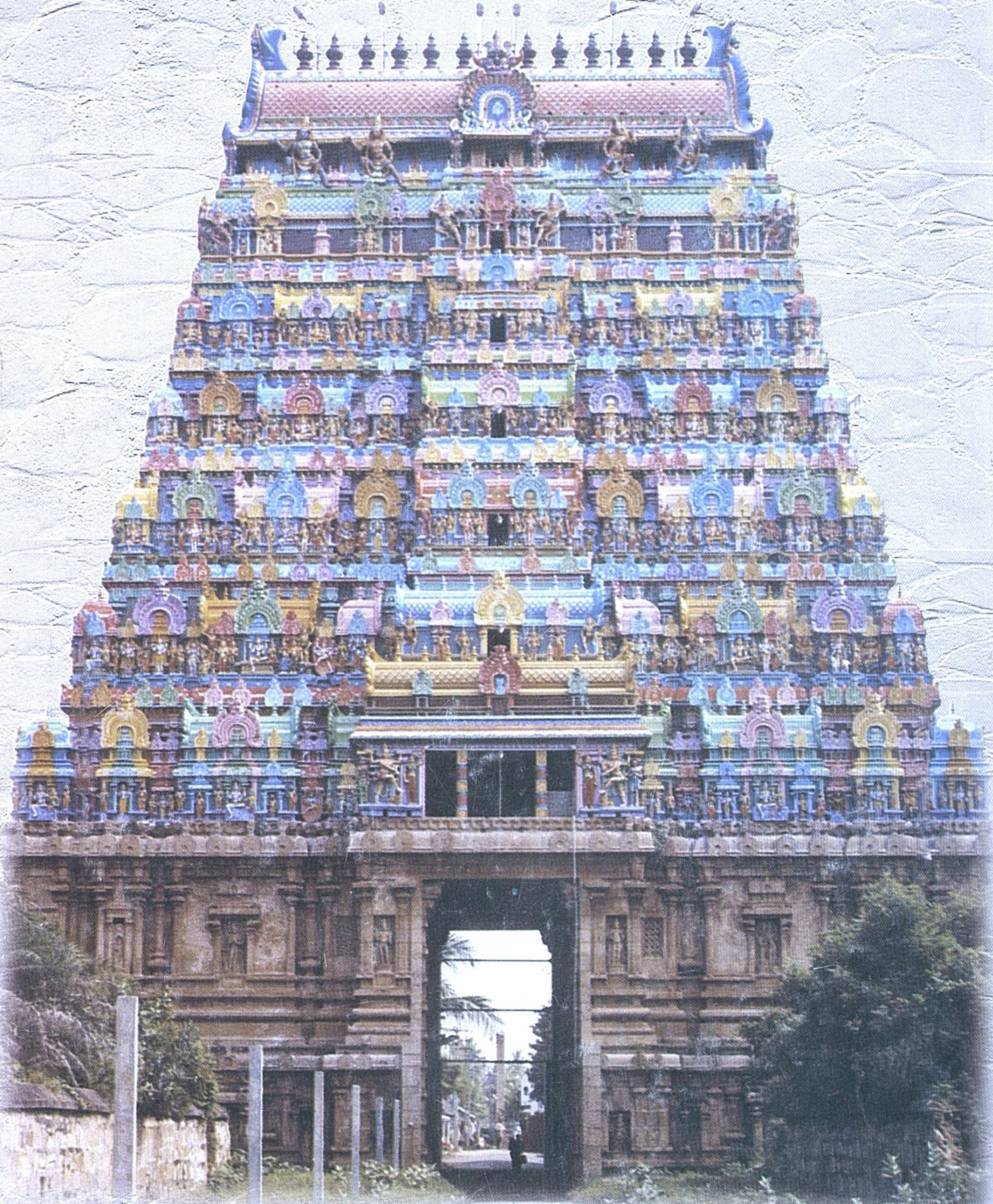
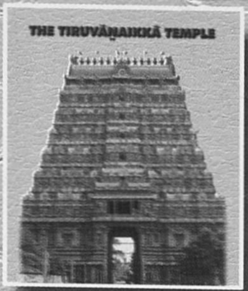
THE TIRUVĀṆAIKKĀ TEMPLE





About the Book

From time immemorial, India had been a land of saints and seers thus projecting age-old culture and civilisation. The culture of our land is reflected in the temples we have. As long as culture is a constant human activity, the history of temples would be a subject of serious study and the inscriptions available there, a topic of close scrutiny.

With an irresistible penchant towards unravelling the nuggets of information available about the great temple of Tiruvānaikkā, the author has taken pains to retain closeness to truth by studying the inscriptions available.

This is a vividly written survey and presents an acute and perceptive account of the temple from various points of view. What astounds the reader is the cornucopia of information and the perspicacious and equally perspicuous presentation, the analysis unfolds.

The author uses a wide variety of sources and has handled adroitly an enormous mass of disparate materials with skill and finesse and has conveyed to the modern reader what is best and worth remembering about this hoary temple. The portrayal is succinct, the style is lucid and unaffected . This book will be of immense use to any avid seeker of history and religion as the author has brought a harmonious blend of the two.

THE TIRUVĀṆAIKKĀ TEMPLE

DR. K. SEKAR

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT
BHARATHIDASAN UNIVERSITY
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI

© BHARATHIDASAN UNIVERSITY
First Edition, December 2000

THE TIRUVĀṆAIKKĀ TEMPLE

(Thesis submitted for the award of
Ph.D.Degree at University of Madras)

Author
Dr. K. Sekar

Principal
Chidambaram Pillai College for Women
Tiruchirappalli - 621005

Publication in-charge

Dr. K. Raja
Bharathidasan University

Printers

Jayaram Press
Tiruchirappalli - 620 002

Copies can be had from

The Register
Bharathidasan University
Tiruchirappalli - 620 024
India

Price Rs.

Preface

Dr. Muthiah Mariappan, B.E., M.Tech., Ph.D.(USA),
Vice-Chancellor,
Bharathidasan University,
Tiruchirappalli.

Dr. K. Sekar, the author of the book "The Tiruvanaikka Temple" has made a detailed study of all the aspects of "The Tiruvanaikka Temple" from inscriptions and literary sources.

The work is so conveniently divided into 9 chapters. The role of the temple in moulding the life of the people covering all aspects such as economic, religious and social has been brought out in a lucid form with all the details available in the temple and the surrounding area.

In the study, the author with his wide experience and deep knowledge deals with the problem of dating, identifications of inscriptions not covered by the official epigraphist. This task has been taken up and completed by a specialised study of contents of the inscriptions and also the architectural and sculptural evidences.

The author has made an earnest attempt in identifying various canals, water resources and localities around the temple.

The role of religion in shaping the society has been very well brought out in this book.

With the vast knowledge in Tamil language and literature, the author has been very successful in his attempt in eliciting and elucidating the salient features and also the historical evaluation of the temple with the available literary works both published and unpublished on Tiruvanaikka.

In the chapter on Architecture the author has elaborately dealt with the development of the temple complex from the nucleus to its present dimensions in relation to the social development and needs of the people who used it and lived around it. A microscopic technical description has been employed in order to bring out not only the date of the individual structural components that have come into existence from time to time, but also the differences in styles among them. This is corroborated by inscriptions and other evidences.

I am sure that this monograph on "Tiruvanaikka Temple" will bring laurels to the University and the book published by the University will definitely be an eye-opener to scholars in this field. I wish all success.

17.11.2000

(MUTHIAH MARIPPAN)

FOREWORD

Prof. P. JAGADEESAN
FORMER VICE-CHANCELLOR

BHARATHIDASAN UNIVERSITY
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI - 620 024.
INDIA.

Just as the landscape stands as a testimony for the various ongoing processes and the environment of the planet earth, the branch of history is a written embodiment of the total evolution of not only the earth but the humanity as well since time immemoral. In the field of history, the inscriptions, the Sthalapuranams and the scultpures available in various temples give wealth of information about man, his political evolution, religious profile, economic development, socio-cultural variations and the topography in the recent past. As a result, the modern historians and the scholars from literature have started paying greater attention in studying the various facets of the temples to understand and build up the history of the past.

Against this backdrop, Dr. Sekar's detailed study on "The Tiruvanaikka Temple" is a well measured observation and the research outcome provides for a better understanding of the political, religious and the socio-economic status and the topography of Tiruvanaikka and the adjacent area which have been meticulously culled out from the temple inscriptions and the sculptures. His observations and arguments on the political history of various dynasties of Cholas, Pandyas and Hoysalas of the early period and the Vijayanagaras, Madurainayakkas and the local Muslim Rulers of the later period have stimulated the interest of not only the historians, but also the scholars from various branches of academia. The information that the author has brought out in various aspects of religious evolution, contribution of religion to the society, religion - society interface, etc., from Tiruvanaikka Temple are thought provoking. Likewise the profile, he has evolved as the economic history from the temple inscriptions proves that the temple stood as an economic entity and contributed substantially to the agricultural activity and economic improvement of the region. His studies also provide wide range of information about the palaeotopography, the hill systems, the land systems and the riverine systems of the area.

I am happy that Dr K.Sekar has brought all his scintillating research findings into this present book "The Tiruvanaikka Temple". I am confident that the wealth of information poured and packed in this book will prove to be a good source of reference for people from all walks of life, interested in history, politics, religion, socio-economics, archaeology and art and culture of this region.

P. JAGADEESAN

Acknowledgement

Thus the Lord said: The renunciation of work and work in devotion are both good for achieving the highest knowledge. But of the two, work in devotion is the better, much better path.

The BhagavadGita
Chap. 5. Verse 2.

This research work is devoted to a comprehensive study of the rich lore of Tiruvanaikka temple. Its main objective is to present a clear picture of the mystic origin and milieu of the temple as worshipped and adulated by the saint Nayanmars.

I submit myself at the lotus feet of the Goddess Sri Akilandeswari for having been the invisible, yet propelling force behind my endeavour. I also like to record my indebtedness to those incarnations of divinity in human form. I offer my deep felt gratitude to Dr. C. Krishnamoorthy for having been a powerful source of inspiration and guidance. I also express my sincere thanks to the University of Madras and the Dept. of Ancient History and Archeology that have rendered my endeavour successful.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Sri P.R. Srinivasan, Sri K. G. Krishnan, Dr K . V. Raman, Dr. M. D. Sampath, Late Dr C. R. Srinivasan , Late Dr C. Tirumeni, Late Sri K. R. Srinivasan & Late B. R.Gopal. I place my deep and heartfelt thanks to Shri G.C. Pattabiram and Dr. S. Swaminathan Assitant Supdt Epigraphist ,ASI, Mysore.

My indebtedness to the former Vice-Chancellor, Bharathidasan University, Dr Jagadeesan is immense, as he was kind enough to recommend for the publication of my Thesis in book form. My sincere thanks are due to the present Vice Chancellor of Bharathidasan University Dr. Muthiah Mariappan, Registrar-in-charge Dr. V. Ayothi, the Head of Publication Department Dr. K. Raja. I am thankful to Jayaram Press for their intense Co-operation and immense contribution in bringing out this book in the present format.

Behind every successful man there is a woman. I salute my mother and my parents in - law, thank my wife and my daughter for the interest they evinced in my research endeavour.

Dr. K. SEKAR, PRINCIPAL,
CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI COLLEGE FOR WOMEN,
TIRUCHIRAPALLI 621 005.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

a	அ
ā	ஆ
i	இ
ī	ஈ
u	உ
ū	ஊ
e	எ
ē	ஏ
ai	ஐ
o	ஒ
ō	ஓ
au	ஔ
k/g	க
ṅ	ங
c/ch	ச
ñ	ஞ
ṭ/ḍ	த
ṇ	ண
ṉ	ன
t/d	த
n	ந
p	ப
m	ம
y	ய
r	ர
l	ல
ḷ	வ
ḻ	ழ
ṟ	ற

ā	आ
ī	ई
u	ऊ
ṛ	ऋ
o	
ō	ओ
ṅ	ङ
ch	च
chh	छ
ñ	ञ
ṭ	ट
ṭh	ठ
ḍ	ड
ḍh	ढ
ṇ	ण
ḷ	ळ
ṣ	ष
ś	श

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	...	Ancient India
AREP	...	Annual Reports on Epigraphy
ARSIE	...	Annual Reports On South Indian Epigraphy
EA	...	Epigraphia Antrica
EC	...	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	...	Epigraphia Indica
IA	...	Inidian Antiquary
IHQ	...	Indian Historical Quarterly
IMP	...	Inscriptions From Madras Presidency
IPS	...	Inscriptions Of Pudukkottai State
JIH	...	Journal Of Indian History
SII	...	South Indian Inscriptions

CONTENTS

CHAPTERS			PAGES
	PREFACE		
	FOREWORD		
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT		
	ABBREVIATIONS		
	SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION		
	CONTENTS		
I	LOCATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES	...	1
II	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	...	7
III	RELIGIOUS HISTORY	...	49
IV	ECONOMIC HISTORY	...	66
V	TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION	...	91
VI	TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE	...	97
VII	LITERARY WORKS ABOUT THE TEMPLE	...	125
VIII	TOPOGRAPHY AND TOPONYM	...	139
IX	RESUME	...	146
	APPENDICES	...	149
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	...	162
	GLOSSARY OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL TERMS USED	...	171
	ILLUSTRATIONS	...	174
	TEMPLE PLAN	...	176

LOCATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES

Tiruvaṇaikka is situated 5 kilometres North of Tiruchchirappaḷḷi,1.6 kilometres East of Śrirangam and on the North bank of river Kaveri. It is in Tiruchchirapaḷḷi taluk which forms part of the Tiruchchirappaḷḷi district of the Madras State. It is an island formed by the bifurcation of the Kaveri into the two known as the Kaveri and Koḷḷidam. At the western (upper) end of the island is the upper Anicut and at the eastern end is the Grand Anicut (Kallaṇai). The trunk road to Madras runs northwards from Tiruchchirappaḷḷi across the island. The place is connected with the highway on its western and eastern sides.

The sources available for this study are varied in nature and details. Ample information is available from the 154 inscriptions copied from this temple. However many more, might have been destroyed during the renovation work carried on from time to time. They range in date from early Choḷa period to the time of Nayaka of Madurai (10th to 18th centuries). The maximum information on the various aspects of the life of the people of this area is available from these inscriptions. Naturally, this study involves a detailed analysis of the inscriptions (both published and unpublished) of this temple[1] and also supplemented by the inscriptions from the adjoining places - particularly the Śrirangam temple[2], wherever necessary and by other sources such as literary works, both published and unpublished.

The temple complex occupying an area of 80 acres comprises of a vast rectangular enclosure with a big gate way (gopuram) on the western side. The car streets running on the four sides of the temple are enclosed by a great wall on all sides measuring in perimeter 2357 meters (7858 feet) in breadth 2 metres (6 feet) and in height 11 metres (35 feet) known as "Tiruniṟittaṉ tirumadil" Which is recently renovated. The long and broad street opposite to western gateway known as 'sannidi street' connects the temple with the main road. Tiruvaṇaikka is a compact little town nucleating around this temple.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Both Śrirangam (occupying an area of 160 acres) and Tiruvaṇaikka are situated in the widest part (at ths western side) of the island extending upto 27 kilometres (17 miles) from the point of bifurcation of the Kaveri into two branches known as Koḷḷidam and Kaveri at the upper Anicut. At the confluence it is actually separated by the Grand Anicut (Kallaṇai). Comparitively speaking, the area around Śrirangam is fully studded with several constructions in the course of its growth; but Tiruvanaikka does not have so many constructions in spite of the availabilify of more space in and around the complex. Private constructions are seen to-day from the fifth prakara (outer wall) onwards at Śrirangam and from the fourth prakara onwards (outerwall) at

Tiruvāṇaikkā. This growth in course of time has eclipsed the availability of apace for cultivation to support the activities of the temple. Tiruvāṇaikkā also faces almost similar situation but to a lesser degree. The sprawling nature of these two temples compel them to a very great extent to buy or acquire the land holdings elsewhere and more particularly either on the North of Koḷḷidam or on the south of Kāveri. The eastern parts of this island might have once belonged to these temples though no direct evidence is available. There are only a few strips of lands to-day in these parts that really belong to these two temples or to the temple servants who might have inherited them as service iṇams and now holding the ownership. The inscription of these temples state that lands outside this island and even from far off places were donated to the temple. In a way there had been a competition in owning lands in and around these river basins between the temples and individual. In so far as Tiruvāṇaikkā is concerned we find on one occasion. i.e. 1232-33 A.D. that the temple acquired lands to the extent of 21 and odd veli (about 145 acres) from a single village on the North bank of Koḷḷidam called Rājarājan Kuṟṟangudi (now identifiable) at a point very near the temple across the river.

The garbhagriha of the temple is below the ground level and is always surrounded by water which is indeed a curious phenomenon. An arrangement has been made by which through water is baled out from the precints of the Linga where water surrounds it again and again.

PLACE NAMES AND THEIR ORIGINS:

Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōṉ (586-610 A.D.) in his Kshetra venba refers[3] to this place as Aṇaikka, and this is the first and the foremost reference to this place and the temple. Appar (C.625 A.D.) gives the origin of the temple and particularly relates how the spider became the Choḷa king Kochchengannaṉ in his rebirth by the grace of God and built this temple. He refers to the place as Ā[4]ṇikkā[5]. Kapiladevar mentions this place as Āṇaiyūr[6]. Sekkiḷār (12th century) refers to this place as Kāmar Pati. (a place loved by all). He gives the etymological meaning of Tiruvāṇaikkā and says that the place derived its name because of the deep penance and worship by the white elephant of the Lord who was pleased to take his stand under the Veṇṇāval tree[8]. (Jambu tree).

Kālamegam (15th century) gives different names for this place; Amutiśvaram, Karivaṇam, Kavai, Dantivanam Ñanabhumi, Ñananagar, Ām eṉra bhutalam[9]. Kavai is the abbriviated form of Tiruvāṇaikkā. Most of the names mentioned above indicate the association of elephant with this place. The Tiruvāṇaikkā Ulā by this poet gives the origin of the place. Pushpadanta, a gananatha of Lord Śiva was cursed to be born as an elephant and he prayed Lord and attained salvation in this place. The lord had ordered that the place should be named as Tiruvāṇaikkā, Aruṇagirinathar (15th century) refers this place as Kāvai, Gajāraṇyam, Kayappati, Karivaṇam, Sambu (Jambu) keśvaram[10].

Tiruvāṉaikkā seems to be the ancient name perpetuated through the ages as evidenced by almost all the Tamil inscriptions from this temple upto the period of Nāyakas, though the other sources give different names. The term Tiruvāṉaikka means 'elephant grove' and the place is presently called Tiruvāṉaikkaval, Tiruvāṉaikkovil and Jambukeśvaram. The Sanskrit name Jambukeśvaram had its origin from the name of the legendary sage symbolised by the Jambu tree and is applied to the God of this temple because the image is placed under a Jambu tree. Jambuka is a dimunitive form of Jambu. The association of trees with place names is a well known phenomenon in human history especially so in Tamilnadu. The names Marudamundurai (Madurai), Ālaṅgulam, Ālaṅgudi, Ālandurai, veppiḷaipatti, vembattur, veppaṅgulam, Kaḍambattur, Paṇaiyur, Puḷiampatti etc. suggest very clearly that the places so oalled now have sprung up after the respective trees such as Marudam, Āla (banian) Vembu (margosa), Kaḍamba, Paṇai (palmyra) and puḷi (tamarind). Besides there are famous centres of worship among saivites and vaishnavities which are associated with particular trees held sacred on account of the fact that the deities of the place were housed under the respective trees. These trees, in addition to the tirtha, sthala and murti are also respected and worshipped (e.g. mango (āmra) in Ekambareśvarar temple at Kañchi). This was perhaps the beginnings of temples in Tamilnāḍu Tiruveṇṇaval (Jambu or Jambuka) is the tree of the place (sthalavṛiksha) and hence the name Jambukeśvaram[11] i.e. the place where Īśvara i.e. Śiva is pleased to be under the Jambu or Jambuka tree.

THE NAMES OF THE MAIN DEITIES:

Appar refers to the main deity as Seḷunittiral meaning the linga here is made up of water and even now the linga is surrounded by water. Tiruñanasambandar refers to the main deity as Āṉaikka Annal[13] and Veṇṇaval amarnduurai vediyaṉ[14] and the inscriptions also refer to the deity as "tiruveṇṇaval kil initu amarntu aruḷiva tirubhuvaṉaati i.e. Lord of the three worlds, who is pleased to reside gladly under the shade of the sacred white Jambu tree and in later period the God is named as Jambukeśvarar. An inscription[15] of Parantaka 1 (946-47 A.D.) refers to the main deity as Mahadeva Paṭṭarakar (bhaṭṭaraka). Another inscription[16] of Kulottunga I dated in his 47th year (1116-17 A.D.) refers to the deity as Tiruvaṉaikka Emperumaṉ. The epigraph[17] of Rajaraja III (-1240 A.D.) refers to the deity as Tiruvaṉaikka Uḍaiya nayaṉar whereas the epigraph of Vira Ramanatha (-1260 A.D.) refers to the deity as Tiruvaṉaikka Uḍaiyar. Later epigraphs refer to the deity as "Nayaṉar aḷagiya Tiruvaṉaikka Uḍaiya tambiraṉar. But now the deity is more familiarly known by the Sanskrit name Jambukeśvarar. The other names of the deity such as Tiruvaṉaikka Uḍaiyar etc. popular in Choḷa - Hoysala period disappear especially in Vijayanagara times.

Appar refers to the goddess as Vaḍiveyamaṅgai[19]. The present name Akhilaṇḍeśvari

(one who rules over the universe) seems to have gained currency only after 1260 A.D. for there is a reference to an inscription[20] of Jata varma Sundara Paṇḍya I of both Vadiveyumaṅgai and Akhilandanayaki. Kalamegam (15th century) refers to the deity as Vaḍivuḍaiya maṅgai along with the other name Akhilandanayaki.[21] It is to be noted in this connection that more importance is given to the goddess Akhilandeśvari than the presiding deity of the temple in later days. In the two sthalapuraṇas namely Dantivaṇa puranam by Kamalai Ñanapprahasar in 1566 A.D. and Tiruvaṇaikka puranam by Kachchiappa Munivar in 1783 A.D. We get the stories about Śiva, Devi, Jambu Muṇi, elephant and spider connecting the place and the temple and about the nava tirthas with their related legends.

According to puranic version God Śiva himself told the greatness about this sthala to umadevi and Nandi. A penitent saint (Jambu Muṇi) here swallowed a jamboo fruit with its seed after offering it to God Śiva as Nivedana. The seed sprouted and became a tree in the very body of the saint. At the request of the saint, Śiva took his place as a linga which was made by water by umadevi who came here to do penance at the instructions of the Lord. Hence the place is called Jambukeśvaram and the liṅga is called Jambunathar. Both the Muni and devi got the grace of God. By this time two Śiva ganas called Pushpadanta and Malyavaṇ were born in this kshetra by a curse one as a white elephant and the other as spider. Beholding the liṅga, the elephant began a daily worship of Śiva with flowers (archana) and offered a shower of water (abhisheka) with its trunk. The spider also worshipped the same liṅga, its service being in the nature of spreading its web over the liṅga with its thread in the manner of canopy over the liṅga so as to check the fall on it of dry leaves from the tree. Taking the spider's web as unclean moss or cobweb, the elephant destroyed it and proceeded with its own worship in the manner as detailed above. The spider spun its nest again and again over the liṅga and the elephant removed it relentessly again and again. Neither the spider nor the elephant understood each other and became violent opponents. One day the spider made its way into the elephant's trunk and bit it frequently. Unable to bear the pain the elephant dashed its trunk on the ground and fell down dead. The spider which was lying hidden within the elephant's trunk was also killed as the elephant was dashing its trunk. Admiring their devotion, God gave them salvation (moksha) and named the place as Tiruvaṇaikka.

Malyavaṇ who was the spider in the story, took rebirth this time in the royal Choḷa family. Subhadeva was then the Choḷa king. Having no children he and his wife Kamaladevi did penance. The kind God granted them their desire. The spider of the former birth entered the queen's womb. When she had labour pains the queen was told by astrologers that if the delivery of the child could be delayed by one naligai (24 minutes) the child would rule over the 3 worlds. Longing to have a celebrated son, the queen bade her attendants to tie her legs and hang her head down with feet up till the

auspicious hour passed. When she was let loose at the correct time, she gave birth to a boy of ravishing beauty but with red eyes as a resalt of forced stay in the womb. She cried out of joy "my king of red eyes" and so crying died immediately. King Subhadeva crowned him at the right age. Kocheṅgaṇṇan who had reminiscence or knowlege of his previous birth and service te God began building this temple for Lord Śiva near the White Jambu tree in the elephant grove, where he, as a spider had formerely worshipped the linga[22].

Kōchcheṅgaṇṇaṉ is said to have constructed, according to the statement[23] made by Tirumaṅgai Āḷvar 70 madakkoil i.e. shrines built on a raised platform which is generally attributed to the memory of the king about bis previous birth involving him in a fight with the elephant so as to prevent it from entering the temple.

It is almost futile to analyse the Sthalapurāṇa with the methods of historical criticism. It is typical of the Indian way of recording the history of a hoary institution like temples by investing them with a devine origin and connecting them with the Gods Brahma, Indira and sages like Agastiya etc. These type of stories are repeated in the sthalapurāṇa of many a temple in the same monotonous pattern. Their aim was to appeal to faith and not reason. Nevertheless, it cannot be gain said that these legends were quite popular among the devotees through the ages[24].

A more detailed study of the place, names of deities has been taken up in the chapter on Literary works about the temple.

REFERENCES

1. Tiruvāṉaikkā temple inscriptions :

Year	Nos.	Total Nos.	Published/ Unpublished upto 1984
1891	18 to 32	15	Published in SII. Vols. 3 and 4.
1903	61 to 67	7	Published in SII. Vol.8
1905	499 to 508	10	Unpublished
1908	480 to 487	8	Unpublished
1910	92	1	Unpublished
1937	103 to 136	34	Unpublished
1938	1 to 79	79	Unpublished

		154	

The texts of Unpublished inscriptions also were made available to me (by the kind courtesy of the Chief Epigraphist, ASI, Mysore) and they have thoroughly studied.

2. Śrīraṅgam Temple Inscriptions:
SII., Vol.24. Nos.1 to 10, 12 to 108, 194 to 203, 265 to 277 ,282, 293.

3. Patinōrām Tirumurai, Śaiva Siddhantha Nurpattippu Kalagam, Madras (1971), verse 5.11, p.37.

4. Mūvar Tēvaram, Talamuṛai, ed., T.M.Kumara Kurubaran, Śrī.Kumarakurubaran Sangam, Verse 264, p.255.

5. Ibid., Verses 60. 1-10, pp.434-36

6. Patinōram Tirumurai, Śaiva Siddhantha Nurpattippu Kalagam, Verse 22. 41, p.187.

7. Tiruttoṇdar Makkadai ed., by Ramanatha Pillai, Saiva Siddhanta Nurpattippu Kalagam, verse 347, p.412.

8. Ibid., Verses 2, 3, p.811.

9. Tiruvāṇaikkā Ulā ed. by M.Arunachalam, Chokkanathapuram (1964).

10. Tiruppugal, Tirugalamirtha Karialayam, Madras (1968).

11. All the temples of Śiva bear names ending in Īśvaram such as Rājarājesvaram, Kedarīśvaram, Tirukkandīśvaram etc.

12. Mūvar Tēvāram, Verses 60. 1-10.

13. Ibid., Verse 60.1

14. Ibid., Verse 60.11.

15. ARSIE., 1938, No.8

16. Ibid., 1891. No.31; SII., Vol.3 No.76.

17. Ibid., 1938, No.13.

18. Ibid., 1938, No.4.

19. Mūvar Tēvāram, Verse 60.10.

20. ARSIE., 1891, No.32.

21. Tiruvāṇaikkā Ulā, Verse 115.

22. Tiruvāṇaikkā ŚrīAkhilāndeśvari sameda Śrī Jambukeśvarar Tirukōyil Mahakumbhabhisheka Malar, Devasthanam, Publication, pp.232-33.

23. Turumaṅgai Ālvar, Periya Tirumoḻi, VI, 6.

24. K.V.Raman, Śrī Varadarājaswāmi Temple, Kañchi.

CHAPTER II
POLITICAL BACKGROUND

PREAMBLE:

Of late regional history has come to assume major importance and the present trend is to study the regional history in its proper perspective. In other words, the aim is to emphasise all the factors - that have a bearing on regional history and to highlight them, the way in which they shaped its history.

Tiruvāṉaikkā, an important Śaivite centre in the common parlance, is held out to be a place where a spider and an elephant obtained salvation. The present name was derived from the above episode.

Our aim is to study the political history in its various facets, and to analyse the political condition and turmoil, that was witnessed in the place.

The paucity of evidence pertaining to the political history of this area during the early periods makes the reconstruction of the political history of that period very difficult. However an attempt is made here to give a picture, though incomplete, on the basis of literature and a few later references to the same.

CŌLAN KŌCHCHEṈGAṆṆĀN:

The area around Tiruvāṉaikkā is well known to have been ruled by the Chōḻas. Ancient classics of the Śangam period contain numerous references[1] to Uṟaiyur (Kōḻi) as the capital of the Cholas which is very near to Tiruvāṉaikkā. Their connection with Tiruvāṉaikkā temple however is not known.

A complete consideration of the references to Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ indicates that there were more than one king bearing that name. One Kochcheṅgaṇṇāṉ is known to have defeated Cēramāṉ Kanaikkāl lrumporai in the battle at Kaḻumalam near Kuruvur in the Kongu country and imprisioned him. The Cēramāṉ's life could not be saved even at the intercession of the Chōḷa court poet Poygaiyar, as the Cera king preferred to die on account of the insult in the prison[2]. While this king might have ruled from Uṟaiyur, his religious leanings are not known.

The second king of that name was the one honoured in a hymn[3] by the Śaiva saint Appar, thus placing him to be a predecessor of Appar i.e. long before the 7th century[4]. Appar records in the above hymn the belief of his own as well as that of his contemporaries that this Chōḷa king was a spider in the previous birth, wove a canopy above the deity of Tiruvāṉaikkā and was reborn in the Chōḷa family as Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ. lt is to this very same king that the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai

Āḻvār refers in his hymn. He states that this king raised seventy high-rise (māḍam) temples for Lord Śiva, the most important being that of Tiruvāṉaikkā, Tiruambar, Naṉṉilam, etc[5].

The third of the same name about whom we know pretty little was the grand father of Vijayālaya acccording to Veleñjeri copper plates of Parāntaka I.

While all these kings might have had their capital at Uṟaiyūr, only the second king of that name as seen above was connected with Tiruvāṉaikkā. His devotion was so great that he was cannonised as one of the sixty three Nāyanmārs.

The next important ruler, Pugaḻchchoḻa Nāyanār, like his predecessor was a king of great fame. Śekkiḻār in his periyapurāṇam informs[7] that he had conquered several regions. In his region, Tiruvāṉaikkā and its environs must have been a flourishing centre of economic prosperity. Both Śaivism and Vaishṇavism should have also been flourished side by side as the songs of Āḻvārs stand a testimony to the above fact. The name of this king does not give us any clue regarding his identification with any of the known kings. There is no specific evidence from this region on the impact of the Kaḷabhra rule though Tamilnāḍu is generally known to have been affected.

The great Śaiva king Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya II (862 - 880 A.D.) had made lavish endowments to Lord Śiva, the presiding deity on the Rock Fort. He had sent the gold for the endowment through his trusted officer Aṇḍdnāṭṭu veḷan. Before making this endowment he is stated to have camped at Niyamam after destroying the Fort at vembil i.e. Vambaṟṟur. He had also endowed for two lamps, for the deity in the Śiva temple at Lālgudi and at Tiruveḷḷaṟai. But the inscriptions pertaining to the Rock Fort are engraved prominently on the pillars of the Rock cut cave, a Pallava creation on the way to the main Śiva temple. It is a apparent from these that the Pāṇḍya had full control over this area including Tiruvāṉaikkā. The dates of these records[8] range from the 11th to the 13th year (873 to 875 A.D.). It is possible that his control over this area was short lived, for very soon after this before 878 A.D. he had to withdraw from the Choḻa area on account of his stunning defeat at the battle of Śripurambiam with Pallava Aparajitha and his ally Gaṅga Pṛithivipathi. A great Śaiva devotee that he was, he would not have failed to patronise the Tiruvāṉaikkā temple which would not have been less popular than the one on the Fort.

Before further discussions we may have to explain the paucity of the records of the Pallavas and the predecessors of Parāntaka I in the Tiruvāṉaikkā temple. It is to be borne in our mind that Śrirangam, Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi and Tiruvāṉaikkā are interrelated geographically. The absence of the record of a particular king in one of these localities does not mean that he had not ruled the other two area.For example, we get Pallava records in the Rock Fort at Tiruchirappaḷḷi[9], whereas we do not get any record of the Pallava kings either from Śrirangam or Tiruvāṉaikkā. Similarly we notice two records of Āditya I from Śrirangam Likewise, we do not get any record of Āditya I either from Tiruvāṉaikkā or Rock Fort. Therefore, it is ludicrous to presume that either the

Pallavas in general or Āditya I in particular were not in possession of these places. Thus, we can account for a continuous history from the later half of the sixth century to the advent of Parāntaka I at Tiruvaṇaikkā. Choḷa Āditya I's inscription at Śrīraṅgam point to his rule over the entire area. He is said to have built numerous temples in stone (kaṟṟaḷi) all along the banks of Kāveri which of course, include Tiruvāṇaikkā. The stone structure raised by him might have undergone renovation leading to the disapperance of evidences including that of inscriptions. However a few images now traceable in the temple are attributed[11] to his time, this confirming his connections with the Tiruvāṇaikkā temple.

A stray inscription[12] of Parāntaka with his characteristic epithet Maduraikoṇḍa Parakesari is engraved on the wall of the east verandah in the second prākāra of the temple. Fragmentary in character this record mentions the gift of a perpetual lamp to god 'Mahadeva Bhaṭṭarar' probably indicating the chief deity, Jambukeśvara. The record is dated in his (Parāntaka's) 40th regnal year (947 A.D.) and it stipulates that the sabhaiyārs of this temple made provision for oil to burn a lamp. Other two records[13] of the same king are mere fragments and they do not contain any new or novel information except the date portion as 3rd year and Malaināḍu in one record and [P]uraiyur-nāḍu in another record. Though his usual title Maduraikoṇḍa parakesari was conspicuous only by its absence but on palaeographical grounds it can be safely attributed to Parāntaka I. The reference to sabhaiyārs in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I signifies the continued interest of the king in the institution of local self government mainly the sabhai constituted by the Vedic scholars residing in the area, as elsewhere in the Choḷa kingdom. The provision made by them for burning a lamp evidently in the temple at Tiruvāṇaikkā points to the interest shown by the sabha in the affairs of the temple.

During the period under review this temple was the centre of not only religious persuasions, but it also functioned as a meeting place of Judicial body. As in the case of other big temple in classical period which assumed various roles. Temple was a centre where education was imparted and a place for cultural programmes etc. During the period of Sundarachoḷa Parāntaka II, Tiruvāṇaikkā executed such functions as it was evident from an inscription[14]. The Mahāsabhā of Uttamaśilichchaturvedi maṅgalam met at the western side of this temple on May 28, 961 A.D. Tuesday discussed the endowment of some lands made by one Bālāśiriyaṇ Bhattaṇ Śivankuttaṇ of Ādaṇūr to another temple of Tiruppāṟṟurai-mahādeva at Uttamaśilichaturvedimaṅgalam to provide for the maintenance of some servants in the temple for burning a perpetual lamp before the deity and for the midday offerings. It is evident from this record, lands were utilised for the conduct of some endowments in the local temples involving the sabha or mahāsabha in the affairs of the temples by making them responsible for the maintenance of the same, apparently with the royal approval.

When the continuity of Choḷa rule is attempted we are confronted with the problem of conspicuous absence of Choḷa records between 961 and 1116 A.D. or till the 47th year

of Kulottunga I. During this period, the region was under the active control of the successors of Parāntaka I, such as Uttama Chola, Rājarāja I, Rājendra I, Rājadhirāja I, Rājendra II, Virarājendra, Adhirājendra as attested by a host of inscriptions[15] at Śrirangam. However, attention may be drawn here regarding a few Śrirangam inscriptions[16] of Rājarāja I which have got direct bearing on Tiruvāṇaikkā temple. These records which are fragmentary seem to refer some transactions of the Perunguri-sabhai of Uttamasili chaturvedimangalam in respect of Tiruvāṇaikkā temple.

A solitary record[17] of Kulottunga I, which commences with the praśasti 'Pugal śulanda Puṇari' etc., is dated in his 47th regnal year (1116-17 A.D.). The inscription reccrds the setting up of the images of Ṛishabhavāhana and an image of Pārvati by one Villavarayān of Vaḷambakkuḍi The donor is stated to have purchased the lands from the temple authorities (Ādichaṇḍeśvara), of Tribhuvanapati, who is pleased to take his seat under the tree (tiru-vaṇṇāval) in the Tiruvāṇaikkāval which is a brahmadeya of Migoḷai in Pāndi-Kulāśanivaḷanāḍu. The donor who hails from vaḷambakkuḍi in Miśengili-nāḍu of Jayasimhakula-kāḷavaḷa-nāḍu seems to have purchased the land and made over the income of the land for the tirumañjanam and tiruvamirdu on two festive days and for the procession of the deities donated by him. Villavarāyan seems to have agreed to measure out the paddy at the rate of 5 kalams of paddy per veli in the standard measure called Rājakesari-marakkāl. From the phrase Iḍangai-nāyakar alias Ṛishabhadeva, it can be inferred that the donor might have been a member of Iḍangai group. An inscripticn[18] of Kulottunga III gives the earliest account so far known of the beliefs and customs of the Iḍangai class, their origin and their prominent role in the time of the Choḷas.

The turbulent period of Choḷa politics under Kulottunga III temporarily eclipsed the fortunes of tha Choḷas[19]. The feudatories and subordinates of Choḷa shifted their allegiance according to their whims and fancies. The adversaries of the Choḷas were bent upcn acts of aggrandisement and expansion of their territories at the expense of the Choḷamaṇḍalam, with the active connivance of the subordinates. Treaty, agreement and frienship were cast to the winds before cunningness, treachery and diplomacy.

Of the nine records of Kulottunga III he styles himself in a majority of records as Tribhuvanaviradeva or Tribhuvanachakravarti or Koneriṇmaikoṇdān. But three records of his contain his praśasti namely Maduraiyum Ilamum Paṇḍiyan muḍittalaiyumkoṇḍa. It is only from the 7th year (1185 A.D.) onwards[20] we get his record - the highest regnal year being his 21st year (1198-99 A.D.)[21].

An important record[22] of this king dated in the 18th regional year (1195-96 A.D.) is damaged. It unequivocally records the political compact nilaimaittiṭṭu between Rāja Rājadevān Poṇ-parappiṇāṇ vanakovaraiyar and Siyaṇ uḍaiya piḷḷai alias Akaḷankanāḍāḷvāṇ.

The important features of this agreement of this record are that no actions like "olai kāṭṭal", "āḷolai- pokkal" i.e. (the intercourse with the enemies) and that intimes of distress army and the cavalry will be made available (viṇaiuṇḍāgil paḍaiyum kudiraiyum pugaviṭṭu). A similar agreement was made in the next year i.e. 19th year (1196-97 A.D.)[23] between Uḍaiya pillai alias Akaḷanka Nāḍuālvāṉ and Seman alias Rājarāja Muvaraiyaṉ. The former was already noticed in the 18th year. In this inscription the latter undertakes to stand by the former against any harm from some communities like mudaligal, urāligal, and vaṉṉiyars on the same terms as in the former record.

The internal dissensions, the external aggression and the expansionist activities of the alien powers such a Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas, the fluctuating allegiance of the subordinates such as Kopperuñjingas, Bāṇas, Telugu Choḷa, Śambuvarayas, Chedirayas etc. were tormenting Rājarāja III during his three decades of rule between 1216 and 1246. Geographical position of Tiruvāṇaikkā is also one to be reckoned with for writing the political history of this period, because Kaṇṇanur, the capital of the Hoysaḷas and its proximity to Tiruvāṇaikkā definitely would have created a flutter and the control over the region. This proximity induced the Hoysaḷas to meddle the Choḷamandalam. Kopparunjinga, the subordinate of Rājarāja III was the first man to rise the banner of the revolt against the Choḷas. He openly defied his sovereignty declared his independence and detained the emperor himself at Śendamangalam fort, a feat which could not be accomplished by any of their feudatories. In this hour of crisis, help come from an unexpected quarters. The Hoysaḷas realeased him from the prision and extended their help[24]. The Hoysaḷas entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Choḷas, provided them with a military contingent to safeguard the provinces of the Choḷa domain. The Pāṇḍyas, who were hand in glove with Kopperuñjingan started fishing in the troubled waters. They created series of troubles to Choḷas, organised revolt, cripplied the resources of the Choḷa empire. Rajaraja III had a tough time in facing these outbreaks of his faithless subordinates, ingratitude feudatories and disloyal chiefs.

We have to analyse, examine and interpret the subsequent events in the light of the inscriptions at Tiruvaṇaikka It is the lesson of history, that whenever there is a rise, there must always be a fall. It is applicable not only to the individuals, but also to the great historic empires of various parts of this world.

The accession of Rājaraja III was indeed rather unfortunate, because he had neither the capacity nor the calibre to control the forces of disintegration. It was during his reign, the forces of disintegration were let loose which sapped the vitality of the Choḷa empire. The reign of Rajaraja III, began badly and these initial mis- fortunes were, but the precursors of much greater calamities[25].

Great changes were taking place in the political map of South India and the emergence of several foudatories and minor dynasties put the Choḷas in grave perial. The Chola country was greatly harassed by these powers, and the entire country was plagued with

internal dissension and external aggression. Only an exceptional ruler of extraordinary calibre could check the reactionary forces which poisoned the body-politic of Choḷamandalam, but the empire ia bound to collapse like a pack of cards, when its destiny waa controlled by men of lesser merit. So was the case with the Choḷas.

In the present chapter, our aim is to analyse the political conditions of the Choḷa kingdom in the light of the epigraphic evidences available in this temple. The inscriptions of Rājarāja III numbering 30, recorded in the temple, give a vivid account of the unsettled political conditions, the role of the feudatories, etc. in clear terms. A few records are however, related to the political pacts with the latter. Commencing from the year 1229 A.D. i.e. 13th regnal year of the king onwards, ending upto 1245 A.D. i.e. 29th year, we consistently get records of Rājarāja III[26].

It is interesting to note, that a majority of the inscriptions of the Choḷa kings belonged to Rajaraja III. It showed that in the later period, the temple occupied an importance place, in the Choḷa society. The importance of the temple was known by the generous donations, given by the feudatories recorded on the walls of the temple. One inscription unambiguously notes the appointment of in watchmen to safeguard the temple[27].

As stated earlier, the Choḷas were on the verge of decline and the subordinates had field-day as they were bent upon converting their gubernatorial status into royal one.

The inscription informs us the role of the Nīlaganga Araiyars and Pañchanedivaṇars of Baṇa extraction[28]. Some of the feudatories championed cause of the Choḷas. Their benevolence, the role they played as arbitrators, etc. were all well brought out by the epigraphs of the temple.

One reason that can be adduced to the appearance of the feudatories, who frequently figure in the inscriptions, is the fact that the king began to rely more and more on them, notwithstanding the fact, that this itself became a cause for the decline and fall of the Choḷas, atleast in the long run. As the Choḷa territory was often subjected to raids by various rulers, more particularly so by the Paṇḍyas, who carried fire and the sword into the Choḷamaṇḍalam, who let loose an orgy or carnage, arson and loot of beggaring description, it had become imperative on the part of Rājaṛaja III to seek the help of dynasties like the Hoysaḷas, and the request was promptly complied with. Besides, the proximity of the Hoysaḷa head quarters, Kaṇṇanur to Tiruvaṇaikka enabled the the Hoysaḷas to come to the rescue of the Choḷas whenever the situation so warranted. Particularly the friendship with the Hoysaḷas, put the emperor in good stead in his voilent encounter with the Paṇḍiyas and Kopperuñjinga. It seems the Hoysaḷas were given a free hand to collect revenues, as we have got epigraphical evidences to

illistrate the above point. An inscription[28] reveals the transaction of the temple with the agent who was the subordinate of a Hoysaḷa general one Bhogaya Daṇḍanayaka, who was sent by the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha II to assist Rajaraja III in his campaigns against the Paṇdyas and who in 1237 A.D. granted eleven villages conferred on him by prince Someśvara evidently for their valour. It would not be inapproprate to mention here, that when the king Rajaraja III was imprisonedby the recalcitrant chief tain Kopperunjinga it was the Hoysala ruler Narasimha II freed the emperor from his confinement after defeating Kopperunjinga at Śendamangalam, the place of his captivity.

As stated earlier, the later Choḷas, particularly,from the time of Rajaraja III, began to rely more on their feudatories against their adversaries. Notably, the part played by the Holysaḷas in maintaining the balance of power in such a way to promote their own interest and to make both the Pandyas and Choḷas to look upon them in times of emergency and thus to secure for themselves on unique place in the South Indian Politics.

RAJENDRA III AND THE HOYSALAS :

The Choḷas ruler Rajaraja undoubtedly owed his throne to the aid of the Hoysaḷas, but for whose help, he would have been passed into oblivion long back. It was the Hoysaḷa ruler, Vira Narasimha, who rescued RajaRaja III in 1232 A.D. after defeating the notorious feudatory Kopperuñjinga. Between 1233-46 A.D. the entire Choḷamaṇḍalam was virtually the protectorate of the Hoysaḷas, as the inscriptions from Tiruvaṇaikka, Srirangam kamarasovalli and Tirumalavadi corroborate the above view. The Daṇḍanayakas of Hoysaḷas also wielded considerable influence in the ploitics and administration of the Choḷas, as epigraphy bears testimony to it. Many vital parts of the Choḷa empire were more or less under the control of the Hoysaḷas.

The friendship between the Choḷas and the Hoysaḷas, lasted till the accession of Rajendra Choḷa III. The later, unlike his predecessor was a man of better mettle, but he lacked the qualities of statemanship and diplomacy. A study of his inscriptions reveals that he chalked out an ambitious programme of expansion to revive the pristine glory of the ancient Choḷa house. His first intention was to avenge the humiliation to Choḷas, caused by the invasion of the Paṇdyas under Maravarmaṇ Sundara Paṇdya I. Accordingly he marched against the new and incompetent ruler Maravarman SundaraPaṇḍya II, defeated him and reduced him as his vassal. He also assumed the vaingloruious epithet, "Iruvar-Paṇdiyar mudittalai Koṇdarulina" and he had the solid support of Teluguchodasi in this ambitious adventure. He also assumed the title Manukulameḍuttuneri Sudi-aruḷiya Kopparakesarivarman. It seems that he also successfully kept the Hoysalas at bay because, so far no records of the Hoysaḷa king,

Someśvara, have been discovered at Kaṇṇanūr or Śrīrangam, or Tiruvāṇaikkā between the 9th and 20th years (between 1242 and 1253 A.D.) of Vira someśvara. But three epigraphs[30] of Rājendra III at Tiruvāṇaikkā temple record his royal orders. His last inscription dated in the 5th regnal year of the king (1251-52 A.D.) connected with a royal order of the king making into a tax-free devadānam, 25 veli of land at Muttam alias Villavanallur in Nittavinodavaḷanāḍu granted as tirunamattu-kāni. Besides a record from Cuddapah and another from Śrīrangam style him, as 'death to the karnaṭa king'. Thus epigraphical evidences clearly demonstrate that in the initial years, he fared well without the backing of Hoysaḷas.

It was the awoved policy of the Hoysalas to maintain a sort of balance of power, so that no state was strong enough to gulp the other. They played this game of shifting allegiance very cleverly to promote their own interests. Naturally, the power, prestige position and popularity of Rajendra III was an eyesore to the Hoysalas, and they aimed at keeping the Choḻas at check.

It was at this juncture, the incompetent Pandya ruler, Māravarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇdya II was defeated by Rajendra III and the Hoysaḷas who watched the progress of the power of the Choḻas immediately made a common cause with the aggrieved party, Pāṇdyas against the victorious Choḻas. In some epigraphs, Vira Sōmeśvara was sityled as Pāṇḍya-kula-samārakshana daksha dakshina-bhuja or whose right arm is skilled in protecting the Pāṇdyas, evidently against the onslaught of the rising power of the Choḻas. A Mysore record mentions that Sōmeśvara uprooted Rajendra Choḻa III in a battle and reinstated him, and Someśvara's records are to be found at Sembattur-Alattur and Tirumanañjeri in Tamil Nadu.

However, this antagonism between the Hoysaḷas and the Choḻas lasted till 1251 A.D. when the redoubtable, Jaṭāvarman Sundarapaṇḍya I, ascended the throne, "He was one of the ablest sovereigns of his age and his policy of expansion threw the South Indian political system out of gears. Both the Choḻas and the Hoysaḷas felt the strength of arms of the Pāṇdyan ruler. His Tirumalavāḍi records[31] reveal, that he entered into the Choḻamaṇḍalam, itself and defeated the Choḻas and his Tiruppūndurutti record[32] reveals, that he did not spare even the Hoysaḷas.

Against this common adversary, the Choḻa Hoysaḷa differences were patched up. The Tiruvāṇaikka inscriptions throw abundent light on the Choḻa-Hoysaḷa relationship.

Of the eight inscriptions of Rājendra Choḻa III only a few highlight the political conditions and the relationship between the Choḻas-Hoysaḷas. During this period, the temple and its environs was bubbling with political activity. The temple was a silent spectator of the radical political changes that took place in the history of South India.

A damaged inscription[33] which contanis a portion of his praśasti registers the sale of land to the temple by Araiyan Sundaḷvan alias śeraman of Vaṇakoppaḍi. This record is rather important because he hailed from Vaṇakoppaḍi, and the Vaṇakovaraiyars of this place had rendered meritorious services to the Choḷas, right from the early days by their loyalty and constant and continuous co-operation. They championed the cause of the Choḷas and stood by them in times of crisis.

With the exception of this record, the other records, throw light on the Choḷas-Hoysaḷa relations. An epigraph[34] engraved on the west wall of the third prakara of the temple, attributes to the king Rajendra Choḷas III a royal order granting a tax-free devadana lands inseven different villages for worship and offerings in the temple of posaliśvaram-uḍaiyar built by mamaḍi, Vira Śomeśvara at Kannanur, a hamlet of Tiruvellarai, which was a brahmadeya in Pachchirkurram a sub-division of Rajaraja-valanadu.The epigraph clearly establishes the Choḷas-Hoysaḷa relationship by the metntion of mamaḍi, Vira Someśvara who was the architect of the temple and Rajendra III's liberal gift to the said temple constructed by is mamaḍi. It is a vital point to be noted that why Rajendra III gave gifts to this temple and recorded the same endowment on ths walls of this temple.

Incidentally this record also shows the meritorious services rendered by the tirumandira-olai, Neriudaichchola Muvendavelan, who figures in the records of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III[35] and for the first time we are able to infer that this royal secretary rendered service under two Choḷa kings for 35 years.

The other two records engraved on the walls ofthe temple again mention the Choḷa-Hoysaḷa relations.These two records[36] dated in the 6th regnal year, refer to one Somaládevi in connecticn with the gifts of land for aflower garden. The other record which is dated in the 6th year corresponding to 1251 A.D. records the gift of land in Tiruveḷḷarai in Pachchir-kuṟṟam by purchase by Siṅgaṇṇadaṇḍanayaka a Hoysaḷa general for offerings and worship to god, Siddheśvaram Udaiyar consecrated by him at Tiruveḷḷarai Piḍagai in pachchir-kuṟṟam of Rajaraja vaḷanaḍu. An interesting point in this record is the mention of Posala-vira Narashima-Chaturvedimaṅgalam, an agrahara in Tiruvaṇaikka Tirupati. This record shows, that vira Narashima was able to found an agrahara after his name in the heart of Tiruvaṇaikka. It is to be noted that the Siṅgaṇṇa mentioned in this record is the same as the general of vira Someśvara, who is also mentioned in an inscription at Vedaranyam[31] at Tanjavur district. In 1241 A.D. when the Choḷas were at odd with Hoysaḷas, the same Siṅgaṇṇadaṇḍanayaka invaded the Choḷamaṇḍalam as a result of which worship was stopped in the temple of Kodikula but was revived some time later. Now the construction of the temple by the same chief in the Choḷa territory and provision

for worship therein suggests, that Rajendra III's overlordship was acknowledged by Vira Someśvara, and the former has sufficiently consolidated and recovered the prestige lost during the time of his predecessors.

It is rather amusing to note, that inspite of a reasonably longer reign of Rajendra Chola III (1246 - 1279 A.D.), we do not get any inscription of the king after 1252 A.D. at Tiruvanaikka. This riddle cannot be explained in any way except the advent of the powerful Pandya ruler, Jaṭavarman Sundarapaṇḍya I to the throne, who threw Cholas out of Tiruvanaikka and its suburbs.[38] Besides the two records[39] of the Pandya king at the temple, and his munificient gifts to the nearer temple, Śrirangam all confirm - that definitely Tiruvanaikka and its environs passed into the hands of Paṇḍyas.

An interesting feature of the study of temple inscriptions, is that during the period under review, we also get the records of Vira Someśvara from 1253-1259 A.D. with the exception of two years 1256 and 1257 A.D. This shows that although Jaṭavarman Sundarapaṇḍya I conquered Tirvanaikka, he did not care to consolidate his rule and it seems that he had allowed the Hoysaḷas to run the administration of the territory. We know well that during the time of Rajaraja the local administration and revenue matters were manned by the Hoysaḷas. An epigraph reveals the part played by the Hoysalas in the local administration. When Jaṭavarman Sundarapaṇḍya I captured the territory he allowed the old order to continue without any disturbance. This may be the reason that we get inscriptions of the two powers Paṇḍyas and Hoysaḷas, side by side at the same time, at the same place[41].

The ascendancy of the "Evening Star" of the Paṇḍyas viz., Jaṭavarman Sundarapaṇḍya I put all the southern powers out of gear and their fortunes were at low ebb. The chain of victories scored by him as far as Nellore in the course of his campaign across the Choḷa coountry brought Tiruvanaikka under his yoke. The alliance of the Choḷas with the Hoysaḷas, proved no match before the devastating attack of this Paṇḍya ruler. He invaded the Choḷa territory in 1257 A.D. defeated Rajendrachoḷa III, reduced him as his vassal and compelled him to pay tribute. He routed the Hoysaḷa forces, and killed Vira Someśvara himself in a bloody battle fought at Kaṇṇanur in 1263 A.D. The entire South was swept by the mighty force of the new power, Paṇḍyas.

With the defeat of this Choḷa ruler Rajendra III,the Choḷa rule, virtually came to an end, and the entire, Choḷamaṇḍalam passed into the hands of the Paṇḍyas. However, Rajendra III, continued to rule till 1279 A.D. With his death, the Choḷas rule became a memory of the past.

THE KĀKATĪYAS :

The Choḷas were annihilated. The feudatories were scrambling for power. They were joining hands with important powers of the day and one such power was Kakatiyas and they had intervened[42] in the south twice i.e. during Kakatiya-Ganapati's (1199-1262 A.D.) period and Kakatiya Prataparudradeva(s period (1295-1323 A.D.). We will explain the reason for the existence of Prataparudra's inscription at Tiruvaṇaikka. The record from Tiruvaṇaikka is highly damaged and the purport of which is not clear from the available two lines. Luckily the other record of the same king engraved on the walls of the Śrīraṅgam temple comes to our rescue. A comparative and on analytical study[43] reveal that both the inscriptions bear one and the same text. The Śrīraṅgam record[44] enables us to know more about the contents of the inscription. It is now necessary to give a short introduction about the political situation of this period. As it has already been pointed out, the extinction of the Choḷa power invited other powers to share the spoils of the Choḷa empire. In addition to this, Ravivarman Kulasekhara of Kerala raided Tamilnaḍu as far as Kañchi, another at Śrīraṅgam.[45]

During the same period, an altogether alien power namely the Malik Kafur, the distinguished general of Alla-U-din with lightning speed undertook a depredatory tour of loot, arson, plunder and pillage. The alien power took advantage of the internal fued between the two brothers SundaraPaṇḍya and Virapaṇḍya, the legitimate and illegitimate sens of Maravarman Kulaśekhara in 1310 and 1311 A.D. who staked their respective claims to the Paṇḍya throne.[46] Kakatiyas at the instance of Alla-Ū-din, were very much interested inelevating Sundarapaṇḍya to the throne. Virapaṇḍya seems to have sought the help of the Tiruvaḍi ruler, Ravivarman as evidenced by the Śrīraṅgam inscription of the Kakatiya ruler who claims to have defeated both Virapandya and Ravivarman. Ballala III was also simultaneously very busy in retrieving the losses of his possessions in Tamilnadu incurred during the period of his predecessors. This is the primary cause for the Kakatiyas to intervene in the politics of the deep South. Prataparudradeva (1295-1323 A.D.) sent his ablest general MuppidiNayaka and installed Manavira as Governor at Kañchi on June 11, 1316 A.D. He also sent a few generals to defeat Ravivarman an ally of Virapaṇḍya in (1316-17 A.D.) and one of the generala Devarinayanigaru son of Machaya Nayanigaru as evidenced by the Tiruvaṇaikka and Śrīraṅgam inscriptions undertook an "expedition to the southern territories against Pañcha Paṇḍyas, faced an array of elephanta in battle, routod Virapaṇḍya and Malayaḷa Tiruvaḍi Kulaśekhara on the battle field at Tiruvadikunru seized the elephants and all the wealth and established Sundarapandya at viradavalam". On that victorious occasion (1317 A.D., March, 28, Monday, lunar eclipse) he gave some lands (?) as sarvamanya[47]. This inscription provides an indirect reference apart from the expedition of Kakatiyas and defeating of the Keraḷa-ruler[48],

it clearly affords evidence to the fact that Tiruvaṇaikka and Śrīrangam were under the actual control of Jaṭavarman Sundarapaṇḍya (1303-1319 A.D.) whose cause was championed by Kakatiya Prataparudradeva and thus we can account for the existence of the inscription dated 1317 A.D. at Tiruvaṇaikka.

THE HOYSALAS :

A study of the inscriptions from this temple gives a clear, and vivid account of the part played by the Hoysaḷas in those turbulent times. These inscriptions throw a welcome light on the various activities of the Hoysaḷas, their keen interest in maintaining a sort of balance of power in South India; some inscriptions reveal other aspects namely their religious policy; their enthusiasm in maintaining religious services particularly in this temple, architectural details and their style of iconography etc; besides the Hoysaḷas interference in the internal affairs of the Choḷa country, the effect of their southern expeditions on the political life of the entire Tamil country are all gleaned from the inscriptions.

As stated already, the Choḷas in the evening of their life began to bank upon the prop given, by their feudatories and also more notably that of Hoysalas who had a free rein in the Choḷa administration. The number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions available in the temple confirm and corroborate their power and influence. Although many of these inscriptions are donatory in character, they reveal, the amount of influence they exerted and wielded in the Tamil country and it also exposed the weakness of the Choḷas.

The Hoysaḷas, carefully but cleverly played the delicate game of shifting alliances to maintain a sort of 'status-quo', so as to push their own self-interest. The Hoysala ruler, Narashima II, who came to the throne in 1217 A.D. played a key-role in the politics of Tamil country - as the numerous inscriptions of this rule stands a testimony to this fact.[49] His epithets like Cholarajya pratishtacharya, Paṇdyagajakesari etc., reveal their aim to promote their self-interests by playing with one power against the other. They successfully but diplomatically maintained a balance-of-power, and became the arbitrators in South Indian politics.

In this chapter, we have to analyse and examine the history of those times, more specially, the Choḷa Hoysaḷa relations in the light of the temple inscriptions at Tiruvaṇaikka.

An important epigraph[50] dated in the second year of Vīrasomeśvara reveals the geneology of the Hoysaḷas for two generations, Engraved on the north wall of the third prakara of this temple it records a string of epithets and mentions the image of the Lord Posaliśvara[51] set up in Kaṇṇanur north of Śrīrangam. The epigraph records

the setting up of four images in this temple i.e. Vellaliśvara, Padmaliśsvara, Vīra Narasingiśvara and Sōma liśvara. They are evidently called after his grandfather, Ballāḷa II, his grandmother, Padmalā, his father, Narasimha II and his queen, sōmala. This also shows the practice of naming the deities after the members of the royal family.

The Hoysala ruler, Vīra Sōmēśvara evinced keen interest in the matters connected with the festivals of the temple. His two records[52] dated 3rd and 4th year refers to the assignment of 1000 kaḻam of paddy by the king from the villages Koṟṟamaṅgalam and Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa nallūr in Rajagambīra Vaḷanāḍu for worship and offering to god Śaṅkaranāyanar enshrind in the fourth prakāra of the temple in the month of Māśi, in the name of the king. This record reveals their interest in conducting worship and offering to the temple, notwithstanding the fact, the temple was in a remote area, from their own home region. Their zeal in religious matters, particularly their generous gifts to temples highlight the prevailing trend in religious matters of the day.

Another record[54] of Vīra Sōmēśvara gives details of income of paddy from various lands to provide for worship and offerings to the deity in the temple of Sōmaliśvaram uḍaiyar at Purōśaikkuḍi in Pachchilkuṟṟam which is very near to Tiruvāṇaikkā. built by him as a paḷḷipaḍai for Dēviyar, who was perhaps the queen of Narasimha II[55].

An instance of royal patronage giving liberal gifts is recorded in two inscriptions.[56] They reveal the exemption of taxes and grant of land made as an endowment to the Saṅgamalliśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyanar and to Saṅgamadēvar- matha at Tiruvāṇaikka by Sōmaladevi.

The interest evinced by the Hoysaḷas in building shrines in and around Tiruvāṇaikkā is portrayed by an epigraph.[57] This record dated in the 22nd year of the king, Vira Sōmēśvara, states that Tyagavinōdisvaramuḍaiyar shrine in the 3rd prakāra of the temple was built and provided with an endowment of tax free land from the tanattār of Tiruvāṇaikka temple by payment of 40,000 kaśu by Kalvakkur-Tyagapperumāḷ at Pōsala Vīra Narasimhachaturvedimaṅgalam in Tiruvāṇikka for making a tiruvāśi for Chaṇḍēśvara.

Another record enables us to know the names of various villages, and it indirectly helps us in knowing the toponymy and topography of the Chōḻamandalam. This epigraph[58] dated in the 25th regnal year of Vira Sōmēśvara wherein the income of paddy derived as tax from the villages, Narasiṅgamaṅgalam, Kaṇṇanūr, ottanūr and Seṅgavūr on the northern bank for the merit of his mother Kalaladēviyar for worship in the temple of Pōsaliśvaram uḍaiyar consecrated by him at Kaṇṇanur. The name of a village Narasingamaṅgalam, betrays the Hoysaḷa influence, as the village should

have been named after the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Narasimha II. The inscription also mentions the damage caused by the breach of Kaveri causing extensive silting of the wet lands in the four villages and the repair of these breaches by the king. This record thus gives a vital clue on the constructive and creative work done by the Hoysalas in the spheres of irrigation and revenue.

Another record[59] of Vīra Sōmeśvara reveals an important construction in the temple. This record mentions the grant of devadana lands for the construction of seven storeyed gopura for the Tiruvaṉaikka temple.

All these generous gifts and construction made by the Hoysaḷas enable us to understand their attitude and approach to the temple. Inspite of the fact, that the temple was far away from their home country it did not prevent them to extend their generosity to the temple. Verily, the Hoysaḷas fostered and nurtured the concept of devotion, and really the Tiruvaṉaikka temple enjoyed the patronage of the Hoysaḷas.

As these records, belong to Vira Sōmeśvara, they quote only his regnal years - which indicates his independent status and the power he wielded in the Tamil country, in spite of the presence of the Choḷa and the Pandya around this place.

Another interesting factor to be noted, is that we get Vīra Sōmeśvara's record from 1234-40, 1253-1259 A.D. There was a break of a period little over 13 years between 7th and 21st year of Vīra Sōmeśvara i.e. from 1240-53 A.D. This is due to the ambitious actions of Choḷa Rajendra III who arose aganist both the Hoysaḷas and the Paṇḍyas. The rise of Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I and his campaign against the Choḷa gave a shot respite for the Hoysaḷa to assent his authority around the regions at Kaṇṇanūr and beyond and also at Tiruvaṉaikkā.

The rise of Māṟavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I on the political scene in the Tamil country and his attack on Choḷa Rājarāja III to settle old scroes brought the Hoysaḷa. Narasimha II in support of the Choḷa king who was matrimonially connected. He posted his son Sōmeśvara at Kaṇṇanur to make the local powers feel the presence of the Hoysaḷa whose role in maintaining a balance of power began from about 1220 A.D. Tiruvaṉaikkā had already fallen into the orbit of Narasimha's influence as proved by the establishement of posala Vīra Narasimha Chaturvēdimangalam in which Tiruvaṉaikka was included[60]. This is also supported by their connections with Maravarman Sundara Paṇḍya II, The excessive dependence of Choḷa Rājaraja III on the Hoysaḷa to protect himself against the attacks by the Kaḍava chief Kopperinjinga on the north and Māṟavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I in the south gave the Hoysaḷa enough scope to extend their power and influence.

With the local headquarters at Kaṇṇaūr, it did not take much time for Hoysaḷa Vīra-Somesvara to cross the Koḷḷidam river on the south and get interested in a number of constructional activities at Tiruvaṇaikkā associating them with his own name and the names of his female relatives. The Raṅganāthasvāmi temple at Śrīraṅgam enjoyed equally the same patronage though to a lessor extent. We cannot dismiss these activities coupled with the Saivite leanings of the Choḷa king Rājarāja III, of whom we get more records than in the reign of any other Choḷa, as mere religious exercises without political overtones. For, very soon we find that a more ambitions king in the person of Rājendra III who succeeded Rājarāja III in 1246 A.D. did not take kindly to Hoysaḷa domination. His Sanskrit praśasti, not available at Tiruvāṇaikka, a centre of Hoysala activity but available at Śrīraṅgam from the 7th year (=1253 A.D.) of his reign contains the expressions "Karunata-raja pratikula Kala-daṇḍa, Vīra Someśvara karamuktapada vīrabharaṇa and more specifically "Mama Someśvara pretikūla kala daṇḍa" which seem to smack of a disdainful attitude towards Hoysaḷas.[61] This may explain the gap in the period when Vīra Someśvara's records are not traceable, but soon, as will be seen presently both Vīra Someśvara and Rājendra III lost to the mighty Jata varma Sundara Pāṇdya I, the one his life and the other his political power over this region. The Choḷa-Hoysaḷa relationship have been already analysed (Vide p.13).

Vīra Rāmanātha, the son of Vīra Someśvara succeeded to his father's territories in the Tamil districts of the Hoysala kingdom. It was unfortunate, that a territory which has once subjected to rapine and plunder by the Pāṇḍyas, should have fallen to the share.The menace of Pāṇḍya attack continued to haunt the ruler, and even his capital, the city of Kaṇṇanūr was seized by the enemy

Vīra Rāmanātha, right from his accession (1254 A.D.) to the throne was confronted with several perils. His throne was neither a bed of roses nor was he a capable man to prove himself as a man of better mettle, as the events showed. He inherited a territory, without organisation and without capital. Besides he had to struggle against the bellicose attitude of his brother, who was bent upon absorbing the Tamil territories of the Hoysaḷas.

The growing power of the Pāṇḍyas under Jaṭāvarma Sundarapāṇḍya I necessitated Vīra Rāmanātha and the Choḷa ruler Rājendra III to narrow down their differences, to meet the common danger. The danger can be better realised, when Rāmanātha had transferred his capital to a place,Kundaṇi. The motive behind this move was to secure himself from the onslaught of the Pāṇḍyas.

In this context it is too appropriate to mention here, the co-regent of Jaṭāvarma Sundarapāṇḍya I namely Jaṭāvarma Vīrapāṇḍya, led an expedition and conquered

several portions of the Chola territory. Maravarman Kulaśekhara completed the conquest and he claimed to have successfully occupied Kaṇṇanur, in 1273 A.D. The last inscription of Vira Ramanatha at Kaṇṇanur is in 1271 A.D. but no record of his is found after this date. We may safely guess by the absence of his inscriptions, that Tiruvaṇaikka ceased to be his centre of activities as early as 1269 A.D.[62] and in a decade (1279 A.D.) he lost his southern provinces and forced to go to his northern headquarters, as stated above.

Another important point to be noted here, though Vira Ramanatha came to throne as early as 1254 A.D., even before the retirement of Vira Someśvara from actual politics, his records are seen engraved in the Tiruvaṇaikka temple. Vira Someśvara was not acknowledged as over lord, but Vira Ramanatha assumed the epithet, 'Sarvabhauma Chakravarti'. Strangely enough we come across the records of Vira Someśvara in the temple dated respectively in 1257-58, 1259-60 i.e. even six years after the accession of Vira Ramanatha.

The paradox can be explained, that during the life timeof Vira Someśvara the kingdom had been divided between them and the records[63] of Vira Someśvara on the walls of temple confirmed the above view. In the paṇḍyas kingdom, the similar custom was in vogue, i.e. division of the kingdom between two or more brothers, and the Hoysaḷas might have followed this example, Vira Ramanatha's record on the Tiruvaṇaikka temple, his epithet Sarvabhauma Chakravarti, even when his father was alive can also be interpreted in another way. Apart from the division of his empire between his two sons, Vira Ramanatha and Vira Narasimha, Vira Someśvara might have given the administrative control of his southern territories of the Tamil country to Vira Ramanatha. As Vira Someśvara, had pressing engagements elsewhere, he thought it prudent to allow the administration to be manned by his son, Vira Ramanatha. As stated earlier, the Paṇḍyas proved a Democle's sword, and Vira Someśvara, had to divert his attention to tackle the menace.

Altogether, there were nine records of the king, Vira Ramanatha, but most of them were donatory. The earliest record[64] dated in the 2nd year of the king registers the sale of house sites by the temple of Tiruvaṇikka Uḍaiya-nayanar to a certain Gautama Śiva Ravaḷar, for building a maṭha.

The fourth year record[65] of Vira Ramanatha refers to the 23rd regnal year of his father as well as his own, regarding the sale of land by purchase for a gift to a maṭha and his gift both in kind and cash and conversion of the transaction as 'sarvamaṇyam', with effect from the 4th regnal year. This confirms the views stated earlier, the internal revenue administration was managed by Vira Ramanatha.

The 6th year record of 1260 A.D. refers to a gift of land by purchase of one Śaṅkara-Bhaṭṭa of Puḷḷalūr for offerings and worship to god Viśveśaradeva[66] situated in the eastern prākāra of the temple of god Saṅgamiśvara-muḍaiyar[67] at Vīra Narasimha Chaturvedimaṅgalam, an agrahāra situated in Tiruvāṇaikka.

Yet another inscription[68] engraved on the west wall of the second prākāra mentions the family members of Vīra Rāmanātha. The record mentions his queen Kamaladevi the daughter of certain Ariyapilli, Chikka Somaladevi the sister of the queen in connection with gift of some lands for the merit of both and for the mid-day worship of the deity of the temple. It is to be remembered that Vīra Rāmanātha had three queens Nāgala, Kamala and Somala[69]. This epigraph is important in the sense that it throws light on the members of the royal family. From this epigraph, we can assert Kamaladevi seems to be his second queen. For the first time we know that Somaladevi, the third queen was the younger sister of Kamaladevi as evidenced by the phrase "Kamaladeviyar taṅgaiyar chikka Somala-deviyarkku". The prefix "chikka" means in Kannada younger is probably used to denote and differentiate Somaladevi who was one of the queens of Rāmanātha's father, Vīra Someśvara.

Of the two records[70] both dated in 14th year, the first is a fragment. The second is a customary donation of money for offerings and worship by one Nīlakaṇṭha Nāyakkar of Pālapaḷḷi to a local deity, Paśupatiśvaram-Uḍaiyār which show the prevelance of Pasupatha sect of Śivism as implied by the name of thedeity. From the religious point of view this arrangement is significant.

The last record mentions the gift of a land by the servant of Nāgala mahādevi, the senior queen to the shrine of Prasanniśvram-uḍaiyar alias Rājakkaḷ-nayaṇār[71] and the record is attested by the 'sign manual' of the king viz., Maḷapa(ro)lga (n ḍa) in Kannaḍa characters. From this record we conclude, the Nāgalamahādevi, the senior queen was not lagging behind in religious activities.

It is rather curious to note, between 1261-66 A.D. we do not find any inscription of Vīra Rāmanātha in the temple. But we get the records of the valiant Pāṇḍya ruler, Jaṭāvarma Sundarapāṇdya, between 1261-66 A.D. It goes without saying, the sweeping arms of Pāṇḍya engulfed Tiruvāṇaikka and Sundarapāṇḍya was virtually the ruler of Tiruvaṇ.aikka. But this view is untenable in the case of Śrīraṅgam for we find the records[72] of both the kings, Vīra Rāmanātha and Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya during the period under question there by showing the subordinate position of Vīra Rāmanātha.

Now to summarise the substance of Vīra Rāmanātha's records at the temple.

(1) He had inherited the kingdom during the life time of his father, and his control over the administrative spheres.

(2) His queens participated in the day-to-day administration. They also donated liberally to the temple.

(3) His confrontation with the Pāṇdya ruler Jaṭavarma Sundarapandya and the consequent absence of his record at Tiruvaṇikka after 1266 A.D. proved the territory passed into the hands of the Pandyas. Besides, the study of his inscriptions point to thecontinued interest of the royal household in the Tiruvanaikka temple.

THE PĀṆDYAS :

The mighty fabric built by the emperor, Vijayaḻaya by his sword and statemenship, reared by Rajarāja and Rajendra by their tact and diplomacy had to meet its decline. The presence of strong and ambitions rulers like Hoysalas, the recalcitrant feudatories, arrogant bureaucrats ruined the fortunes of the Choḻas, the decay was hastened by the powerful and virulent attacks of the emerging Pāṇdyas, under Maṟavarmaṉ Sundarapandya who was bent upon wiping out the disgrace and humiliation meted out to the Paṇdyas by the Choḻas under Kulottuṅga III in their palmy days.

The later Chōḻas were unable to arrest the forces of disintegration which ate the vitals of the empire. The Chōḻa government was highly centralised and only a few exceptional rulers, could effectively exercise the soveregnity. Besides, during this period, the political climate of entire Tamil country, nay entire Deccan, underwent remarkable changes. Ability and statesmanship should go hand in hand, but in the absence of either of the aoore said qualities, the empire was bound to fall. This is irony of history, and Chōḻa empire could not be an exception to this rule.

After Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekara, Maṟavarman SundaraPāṇdya ascended the Pāṇdyan throne. As stated above, the invasion of Kulottuṅga III of Pāṇdyanadu continued to rankle his mind and he waited for an opportunity to strike at the roots of Chōḻas. As if to suit his wishes, after Kulottuṅga came the imbecile ruler Rajaraja, in 1216 A.D.

Māṟvarmaṉ Sundarapāṇdya invaded the Choḻamaṇḍalam with ruthless severity and perpetrated untold atrocities and crimes and thus wreaked an awful vengence. The entire Choḻamaṇḍalam reeled before the devastating attack of the Pāṇdyas with the solitary exception of one '<u>Patinarukalmandapam</u>' and Rājarāja III had to run for safety. Thus the Cholas were driven from pillar to post, a fate which the Cholas often inflicted on their enemies.

The victorious Paṇḍyas proudly, pompously and gorgeously anointed himself at Ayirattaḷii, and his eulogistic epithet 'Pumaruviva tirumadandaiyum' further confirms his conquest and occupation of Choḷa country. Rajaraja III driven from his ancestoral territory by his traditional foe, had to seek refuge in Paḷaiyaṟainagar.

This was the condition of the extreme south, especially in Tamil country, during the period under review and in this chapter our aim is to study the history of Paṇḍya occupation of Choḷamaṇḍalam through Tiruvaṇaikka inscriptions.

An epigraph[74] engraved on the east wall of the east gopura in the third prakara of the temple, begins with the high-sounding praśasti, of the Paṇḍya ruler, Sundarapaṇḍya. It rings with a vibrant note that he, the undaunted among the foes on the earth was crowned at Ayirattaḷii in the 3rd regnal year (=1218-19 A.D.) of his reign. We can safely infer (1) the conquest and annexation of Choḷa country was pre-planned by him, with a view to take revenge upon the Choḷas; (2) the Paṇḍya influence was implanted in the very heart of Choḷamaṇḍalam and the defeat suffered by Rajaraja III at the hands of Sundarapaṇḍya was not only true, but it was also severe and the discomfiture was complete. For the Choḷas it was a question of very survival, as the Paṇḍya ruler had the credit of bearding the lion in its own den. Thus Maravarman achieved a signal, singular, splendid substantial and spectacular success over the Choḷas. Another important point to be noted here, that only a few months would have been passed between his victory and the engraving of this record. The absence of Rajaraja III's records from 1216-1229 A.D. clearly shows, without any shadow of doubt, that Tiruvaṇaikka and its environs were under the control of the Paṇḍyas[75].

Another epigraph[76] begins with praśasti of the Paṇḍyan ruler, Maṟavarman Sundarapaṇḍya. It mentions the paṇḍya king Maravaṟman Sundarapaṇḍya who was pleased to take 'Sonaḍu'. This epigraph records in the 4th regnal year (-1219-20 A.D.) of the king, enumerates the ornaments etc., belonging to god Tiruvaṇaikka-uḍaiyar while the king is mentioned as staying at Madura. Yet another' record[77] unambiguously shows that he captured Sonaḍu and was pleased to perform anointment of heroes and victors at Mudikonda Cholapuram (Sonaḍu-konḍu mudikonḍa soḷapurattu Virabhishekamum Vijayabhishekamum paṇṇivaruḷiva). The first inscription informs us that the paṇḍya king stationed at Madura, a place from which he exercised his control over a place as far as Tiruvaṇaikka, which unmistakably shows, the above place was well-within the orbit of Paṇḍya occupation and the territory became a part of Paṇḍi-naḍu.

These two records[78] are very important as they give a clear picture of the Paṇḍya occupation of Choḷa maṇḍalam Tiruvaṇaikka and the anointment of Paṇḍya king at Sonaḍu. We are able to know the different and comprehensive chronological events of

his reign. Reading the contents of the first epigraph, dated in the 3rd regnal year (1218-19 A.D.) it clinches the issue that Tiruvanaikka was under his control in the 3rd regnal year itself.

Another epigraph[79] dated in the 7th regnal year (1222-23 A.D.) registers the tax-free gift of land in Kachchimangalam, a hamlet in Marraneri alias (Di) nachinta-mani-chaturvedimangalam in Eyi-nadu for offerings and worship during sandhi service was instituted by the king in his own name SundaraPandyan sandhi in the Tiruvanaikka temple and for special festivals on the day of avittam the asterism of the king in the month of Avani. It reveals the king's keen desire to perform worship and festivals, as the temple was popular enough to strike the attention of the Pandya ruler who was keen on celebrating his birth day in the temple.

We also get information about the officers of the Pandyan administration from the inscription.[80] It refers to a gift of land after purchase for a flower garden to the god by a certain Venadudaiyar and his brother Maduraipperumal. The names of the donees are vary interesting as they reveal the identity of these persons who were perhaps officers under him.

An undated inscription[81] engraved in Nagari script in Sanskrit language composed in Vamśastha metre in praise of a Bana king, Viramagadan. In 10th century A.D. the Banas were brought under the control of Chola by king Parantaka and the Banas appeared to have been divided into two branches, one branch moving towards the Telugu country another to the banks of Pennar and settled at Vanagoppadi.[82] With the rise of the Pandyas they also shifted their allegiance to them turning against the Cholas. A Tamil praśasti remarks that the Chola crown was snatched and bestowed on Banas.[83]

A damaged record[84] palaeographically assignable to 13th century records the gift of the Chola country by Sundarapandya to the Banas. Two other inscriptions[85] also refer to the same incident. Thus, it is evident the Banas played a key role in the politics of the time by joining with the pandyas. In the former record Sundara pandya is compared with the famous king who gave the lands to Lord Visnu while the Bana king who receives the gift to that Lord Vishnu who measured the earth with his three giant steps. This similie suggests the generosity and munificient gifts of the Pandya king.

An analysis of the temple inscriptions reveals the following events in sundaraPandya's reign.

1. He carried fire and sword into the Cholamandalam, ousted the Chola king, and crowned himself at Ayirattali.
2. He ungrudgingly donated gifts to the deity of the temple.

3. He captured and retained Choḷamaṇḍalam, as is evident by the expressions 'Sonaḍukonḍaruḷina! and one who pleased to take Sonaḍu.

4. Both Bāṇas and Pāṇḍyas were allies.

5. The Bāṇa king was given the Choḷamaṇḍalam.

6. Besides, we do get some glimpses about the officials of the Pāṇḍya country.

The rule of Māravarman SundaraPāṇḍya II (1238-53 A.D.) was less colourful as he had no outstanding achievement or record of his own. he was a mere puppet in the hands of his māmaḍi, the Hoysaḷa ruler Vīra Someśvara, who lost no opportunity to utilise the weak monarch to his personal ambitions. The Hoysala ruler often meddled with the internal affairs of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, so much so, that he influenced the Pāṇḍya monarch to name a village in Tirunelveli district after his name. Besides, there is another reference to Hoysaḷa chief, probably the brother-in-law of Hoysaḷa ruler, who guided the Charities of the Pāṇḍya king. To put everything in a nut-shell, that his reign shed no lustre, as no exploit of his own, except that he had retained in tact, the solid empire which he inherited from his able predecessor to be bequeathed to his equally able successor Jaṭāvarman SundaraPāṇḍya I. In otherwords, his reign was eclipsed by the glories of two powerful monarchs, his predecessor and his successor.

The rule of Jaṭāvarman SundaraPāṇḍya, who succeeded to the throne in 1251 A.D. was indeed brilliant for he had a series of victories and conquests to his credit. It was during his reign that the glory of the Pāṇḍyas reached its highest water-mark as the entire south prostrated at his feet.[86] By his valour and statesmanship, he revived the pristine glory of the ancient Pāṇḍya house. In conquest, administration, and generosity, he carved out a covetable niche in the annals of the Pāṇḍyas.

His generosity and lavish gifts, to the great temples at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvāṉaikka, and Chidambaram, reflected in the epigraphs give an idea, about his catholicity as well as the prevailing trend in the matters of religion. He had the unique credit of gilding the temples of Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam with gold, which earned for him the sobriquet "Ponmeynda-perumāḷ" and his tulābhāra[87] ceremonies in the temples on the days of his asteriaism endeared him to the massess. These gifts stand as an outstanding monument to his unflinching generosity and unflagging religous enthusiasm, and in his own life-time he had almost become a legent, as every bard envied with other in praising his noble qualities of head and heart. A review of the Pāṇḍya history under Jatavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya through the Tiruvāṉaikka inscriptions gives us an insight into his life and times.

His first task was to subdue the Malainaḍu. He routed the chera king with losses and ruthlessly ravaged his territory. He then compelled the weak Choḷa ruler, Rajaraja III

who was trying to recover his territories. He compelled him to pay tribute. This fact was vouchsafed by the paucity of records of the king Rajaraja III in 1251 A.D. coincides with the date of accession of this Pandya king. But curiously we find a few records of Vira Someśvara, who entered into the good-books of Maravarman SundaraPaṇḍya II. But his successor was too smart to be outwitted by these "matrimonial" and "cordial" ties, as he had seized Śrirangam, Chidambaram and Tiruvaṇaikka, Kaṇṇanur, etc. probably before his 7th regnal year.[88] A long Sanskrit inscription[89] of this king from Śrirangam opens with a statement that he had just sent to the other world the moon of Karṇaṭa i.e. Soma (Somesvara).

His records three in number engraved on the walls of the temple, give us an account of the conditions of his times.

An epigraph [90] engraved on the south-wall of the second prakara of the temple dated in the 10th year commencing with the praśasti samasta jagadadhara, refers to an agreement (nilavilai-pramaṇam) between the temple authorities (devarkanmis) and an individual Suryadevaṇ in connection with the sale of land by purchase at Tiruvaṇaikka for the daily service at the temple from the sale proceeds of 400 kaḷanju of raśi paṇam. This record is of immense value as it helps in fixing the date of the accession of the king, as it gives the name of his con-temporaries like Choḷa-kula-tilaka, Karnaṭaraja, Kakatiya ruler, Gaṇapati, and the Telugu-choḍa ruler, Vira Ganda-Gopala. To quote this praśasti, engraved in Grantha script. He is Krishṇa to Teṇ-Madura. He destroyed and uprooted Keraḷa-vamśa. He exhibited the martial qualities of śri Rama. He is an axe to the Choḷa-kula-tilaka, probably Rajaraja III. He defeated the Karnaṭaraja. He is a lion to the Kaḍava elephants, and he captured the forts of his enemies. He subdued the rulerof Kanchi, Gaṇapati. He is a tiger to the Kakatiya deers. He anointed himself at Nellore. He performed Virabhisheka. All the kings worshipped him and kissed his feet. He was Parameśvara.[91] Thus these historical events recorded in the temple confirm and corroborate the evidences obtained elsewhere.

Another inscription[92] though fragmentary contains the praśasti of the king mentions his natal star Mula in the month of Chittirai on which day the king seems to have instituted some gift for his own merit.

Jaṭavarman's encounter with the Chera king was also revealed by another record [93] as there is a reference to Seranaivenran-tirunal which unmistakably mentions his successful encounter with the Chera king. This record registers an exemption of taxes granted from the 21st year and 103rd day of the king's reign on the villages Muṭṭaipaḍi, Viratoṅgapuram and Pagaṇkuḍi, which had been endowed by him, for offerings and worship to the god during the said festival at the temple on the day of the king's asterism at the instance of his nephew.[94] An inscription[95] from Tirunelveli

dated in the third year of the king gives the name Ravivenra-chaturvedimangalam for a village in the neighbourhood and a Vira Raviudayamarttandavarman is known to have been ruling in Travancore in 1251 A.D. Thus it is evident the name of the village suggests SundaraPandya's victory over the Chera king who was very probably identical with this Ravi Udayamarttandavarman.

It goes without saying that the temple was a silent spectator of the radical changes that were taking place in the political map of South India. The temple continued to attract the rulers of various dynasties, and the number of Pandya records available in the temple, showed the continued patronage of the Pandyas towards this temple.

The Pandya kings had the credit of renovating and building the temple complexes as is evident by a record,[96] engraved on the north-wall of the vibhuti-prakara stating that the wall (tirumaligai) was donated by Tiruniṟṟu SundaraPandya.

The absence of the records of the twin successors of Jatavarman SundaraPandya leads us to surmise, that they were mere representatives of the king. The two rulers, Jatavarma Virapandya and Jatavarma VikramaPandya, did not leave any records of their own.

The next ruler of some merit was the illustrious Maravarman Kulasekhara I, from 1268 A.D. - 1311 A.D. and his rule constituted a glorious epoch in the history of medieval Pandyas. He won a series of victories and his strength of arms was felt by even remote territories like Ilam, and he successfully put down the rebellion, organised to dislodge the Pandyas from the conquered territories. He brought under his sway Kollam, Malai-nadu, Chola-nadu and Kongu and evolved a clean and efficient administration.

An inscription[98] of Maravarman Kulasekhara I engraved on the west wall of the second prakara dated in the 5th January, 1278 A.D. refers to a grove called Silandiyai śolanakkinan tiruttoppu as one of the boundaries of a land granted and this contains, a distinct allusion to the legend in Periyapuranam where the sacred grove called after the god, who transformed a spider into a king is mentioned.

This is a fact that the last record of Vira Ramanatha at Tiruvanaikka was in 1269 A.D. and we know that the Cholamandalam passed into the hands of the Pandyas, and we also know that Maravarman Kulasekhara was camping at Kannanur, the headquarters of Hoysalas in 15th regnal year.[99] The last record of vira Ramanatha at Kannanur is dated in 1271 A.D. and we are at a loss to fill up the gap between 1269A.D., the year in which vira Ramanatha's last record is obtained and 1278 A.D.-the record of the Pandya king Maravarman Kulasekhara. We cannot say anything with certainity whether Tiruvanaikka passed into the hands of some other powers. We have to infer,

that what Jaṭavarman SundaraPaṇḍya had won was retained in tact by his successors viraPaṇḍya, VikramaPaṇḍya and Maṟavarman Kuḷasekhara I, though no records are found engraved during this period.

An analysis of the Paṇḍya records undoubtedly reveals, after the Choḷas, the territory passed into the hands of the emerging power, the Paṇdyas. The Hoysalas, by shrewd diplomacy and matrimonial alliances wielded some power, especially in the time of the weak rulers. The territory was indeed a bone of contention among the various powers, but the Paṇdyas by their valour and diplomacy captured and retained for 60 years. The two powerful Paṇḍya rulers, Jaṭavarman SundaraPaṇḍya, and his able successor, Maṟavarman Kulasekhara, patronised the temple.[100]

THE MUSLIMS:

It was explained that after the enjoyment of power and influence for a long span of more than four centuries the Choḷa dynasty came to an end. The Paṇdyas who had been subjugated for a long time made many brave attempts to revive their rule but could succeed initially only with the help of Kongu and later with Hoysaḷas rulers.

Maṟavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I, Jatavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I and Maravarman Kulasekhara I, the three out-standing Paṇḍya kings could keep up their lost glory, on their own nearly extending their sovereignity over entire Tamilnadu. History repeats itself. The taste of new powers and influence brought in its turn the decline. Disunity and dissension plagued the fortunes of the new power, and the Paṇḍyan throne virtually had become a bone of contention[101] between the warring faction, the imbecilen ViraPaṇḍya, and the degenerated Sundara Paṇḍya, the two sons of Maṟavarman- Kulaśekhara. SundaraPaṇḍya appealed to Ala-u-din Khilji, the Delhi Sultan, Who directed the Kakatiya ruler to espouse the cause of SundaraPaṇḍya.

The new power from the north began to cast his Argus-eyes of the fertile south. These sons of Islam, inspired by religious enthusiasm, infatuated by rich spoils, fired with enthusiasm, unleashed a brutal attack, hitherto unheard of. After subduing north, they focussed their greedy and vultured eyes on Deccan. The weak pockets of Deccan, that were divided and disunited could not withstand the fiery onslaught of these marauding hordes and they succumbed to the invasion. Their brutal and violent invasion, was felt in the limbs and the nerves of South India.

Besides this, another power, as a reaction to the Muslim invasion arose. This new power, which championed the cause of the Hindus, which upheld the doctrines and dogmas of Vedic religion, which aimed at saving Hindustan from the onslaught of Muslims and which acted as a vanguard of traditional culture emerged. The tiny seed that was sown in 1336 A.D. on the banks of Tungabhadra, by the two insignificant

individuals, Harihara and Bukka became a mighty, marvellous and magnificient Vijayanagara empire, which acted as a bulwark of Hindu-dharma, Which defied the challenges of Islam, which defended the land from the brutal and harbaric attack of the ruthless iconoclasts, who ravaged the fertile pockets of Deccan with such virulence which beggars description.

Before studying the history of Vijayanagara empire, it is necessary to study the part played by the Hoysaḷas notably their chieftain, Vira-Ballaḷa who exerted himself to stem the rot but as he was isolated with the resuit he could not accomplish anything, and all his efforts ended in fiasco.

Vira-Ballala came to throne in 1292 A.D. Undoubtedly he was an accomplished ruler of some merit; Though aged nevertheless, he was a mature statesman and doughty warrior of no mean calibre. The presence of his records in Salem, Nilgiris and other places proved his sway over the North-western portion of Tamil Nadu. It seems he also won substantial victory in North Arcot district, and his authority was recognised in and around Kañchi.

Alau-u-din Khilji, the great ruler of Delhi, who captured the throne, after stabbing at the back of his uncle and predecessor Jalal-u-din, enamoured with the ostensible idea of spreading the light of Islam in Deccan, but his object was nothing but mere plunder, rapine and arson. The incessant Muslim raids in Deccan in medieval times led to the establishment of Madura Sultanate in 1323 A.D.[102] and the local Sultan allied himself with the Delhi Sultan. Out of the four kingdoms of Deccan, Devagiri and Warrangal were brought under his fold and the local Rajas of these states guaranteed the Sultan with handsome yearly tribute, and the greedy and avaricious SuItan, who did not like to kill the goose that lay the golden eggs permitted them their independence. The remaining two, the Hoysaḷa ruler of Ma'bar and the Paṇḍyas of Madurai were well out of the orbit of Delhi Sultanate, and Malik Kafur was despatched to force these rulers to toe their line.

Accordingly Malik Kafur ravaged the territory with ruthless barbarity and Ballaḷa who percieved the situation, realised that antagonism would invite sure disaster, surrendered and agreed to act as a Zimmi or feudal subordinate and reluctantly guided the Delhi army into Ma'bar. But he had to swallow up his pridein doing so, and he waited for an opportunity to throw off the yoke of Malik Kafur. His association with Muslims was looked down with great odium and his fealty to the Khilji throne was not genuine and it was upto him to revoke loyalty with a change in the dynasty. A warrior of Ballaḷa's calibre could not act as an alien stooge. We get references of Ballaḷa III inscription at Tiruvaṇṇamalai in 1318-19, 1928-31 and 1340-43 A.D., showing us indirectly his attempts to capture Kannanur.

Added to these, the rule of the Madura Sultan was totally oppressive. They systematically followed a policy of extortion and exploitation. The Hindu land lords were deprived of their possessions. While the peasants were denied the fruits of their labour. Every where there was lawlessness, bloodshed and disorder. This was the state of affairs that were seen in Deccan. Śrīraṅgam temple and other temples including Jambukeśvaram were in a ruined condition due to Muslim occupation.[103]

It was at this juncture that both Teleṅgana and Kampili rose in rebellion and the shrewd Ballāḷa deemed these examples as precedents to be followed. Prudence and statesmanship dictated that he should throw his lot with other powers, which had exhibited extraordinary vigour. The Pāṇḍya ruler of obscure identify and Ballāla made conscious efforts to throw the alien power. An intense wave of religious enthusiasm to preserve and protect the Hindu temples from desecration, swept the entire Deccan and every ruler vied with others in religious zeal, and Ballāḷa could not shut his eyes before this movement, but to join the mainstream, which was calculated to revive the Hindu civilisation in the pristine purify of the past.

In this period of unrest, turmoil, turbulations, the Madura Sultan, Ala-u-din Udaiji was killed, and his death came handy to the rulers to rise in rebellion.[104] The wave of Muslim conquest swept away the entire country and Ballāḷa was bent upon recovering the territories lost by him. He made elaborate preparations, marched towards Kaṇṇanūr, routed the Muslim army on his way and besieged it for full six months. He dictated a term by which he would raise the seiege on condition that Kaṇṇanūr would be ceded to him back. But the local sultan was too clever to be outwitted by such manoeuvers, despatched an additional troop of 3000 swift cavalry which trapped the poor old man, Ballāḷa, flayed him alive after he was robbed off his riches and the Sultan then true to his fashion and upbringing stuffed his skin with straw and hung up on the walls of Madura.[105]

THE VIJAYANAGARA RULERS:

An analysis of the inscriptions recorded on the walls of this temple, reveals at once the Vijayanagara rulers, were not only able to stem the rot of the Muslim invasion, but they also succeeded in recovering the entire South under one banner. The numerous inscripticns which throw light on the munificient gifts ungrudgingly donated by the rulers make it apparent, that under the aegis of the Vijayanagara rulers, Hinduism obtained a new lease of life. Verily, the vedic-dharma witnessed its hey-day, and the history of Vijayanagara constitute a fertile epoch not only in the political history but also in the religious history.

Most of the rulers made one or other gifts to the temple. Some of them donated in kind to the temple. While the others made an additional construction. With the help of these epigraphs we are in a position to reconstruct the political history of Vijayanagara rulers.

As stated earlier, the Vijayanagara empire came as a big challenge to the alien rule of the Muslims, continued the unfinished task of the Hoysaḷas in unifying the entire South under one banner. The two rulers of Vijayanagara, Bukkaṇa and Kampaṇa exerted themselves to extricate the territories from the Muslim rule. After the disappearance of Alau-ud-din, court conspiracies and internal dissensions ruined the fortunes of the Muslim rule and in 1317 A.D., the Muslim rule virtually came to and end for a short spell.

An epigraph[106] engraved in the west wall of the maṇḍapa in the second prākāra of this temple records the construction of a maṇḍapa by one Saṅkaṇa, at the instance of Aṇṇappayyan son of Śirupparaśar. This Aṇṇappaya was a daṇḍanāyaka and Śirupparaśar a mahapradhani. This record belongs to the king, Dēvaraya 1 (1406-22), and it shows the temple continued to enjoy the patronage and support of Devaraya I and his subordinates.[107]

The rulers also revived the worship in the temple, by remitting taxes due to the king from the dēvadāna lands. An epigraph[108] of Dēvaraya II (1422-46), refers to the arrangemant of the revival of worship and it amply demonstrates the ruler were keen on reviving the fallen glory of the temple during the Muslim interregnum.

It was during the reign of Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya, the revenue officials, the adhikāris and the senaipōvars harassed the people to part with more money as taxes. But the people were unable to put up with this extortion left their holdings and migrated elsewhere, consequently worship in the temple came to a halt. However the māhēśvaras of Jambukeśvaram brought to the notice of the king, the gross irregularities in the collection, the king in turn directed his officer, śirupparaśar, to set the matters right and services in the temples were once again restored as in the time of Bhūpati, and this was accepted by the people at large and the demand to revive the Old order was met by his successor, Dēvaraya II.[109] The officials also took part in the festivities of the temple, and they showed beyond any shadow of doubt, that, they were not lagging behind in donating riches to the temples. The temple which was a silent spectator of radical changes, that has been taking place in the South, attracted the rulers and the ruled, kings and officials alike.

An undated epigraph[110] engraved right of entrance through the south wall of the fourth prākāra, refers to the construction of the tirumadil by Aṇṇa Chavuṇḍappa Uḍaiyar son

of Āditta Uḍaiyar. The construction of this tirumadil i.e. the fourth prākāra wall is a substantial addition to the temple giving a protected enclosure. The donor who is known to have made elaborate provisions for garlands, daily offerings and a perpetual lamp to god Ranganātha at Śrīrangam[111] and for the celebration of a car festival for the merit of his father Ādityadeva Udaiyar and also an elephant for service and 30 cows for a lamp in śaka 1355 (1434 A.D.) has paid equal attention to the śiva temple at Tiruvaṇaikka. Besides this Tamil inscription at the southern entrance, another in Sanskrit language and in grantha characters engraved on the right of entrance at the western gopura now called Mallappan gopura records that Chauṇdappa constructed the gopura in śaka 1357 (1435 A.D.)[112]

An epigraph[113] dated in śaka 1375 (1453-54 A.D.) refers to the gift of an ornament for the deity Akilaṇḍa-nāyaki by Sāḷuva Tirumalaraja son of sāḷuva gopparaśa. This record may be assignable to the reign of Mallikārjuna, as the person Sāḷuva Tirumalairāya was the governor of Tanjavur district. He was also appointed as the Governor of Choḷamaṇḍalam during the reign of Devarāya II.[114]

The next Vijayanagara record[115] that merits our attention refers to the sale of the right of worship for 400 Vira-Champan-kuḷigai in the temple of Jambukeśvara to a Bhagavaṇar Aṇḍarperumaḷ of Kaitavanallur in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The record which is dated in śaka 1392, corresponds to December 28, 1470 A.D. The king under whom the transaction was made was Prauḍhadeva-mahārāya, son of Mailikarjuna,who styled himself as one who witnessed the elephant hunt. The same titles Prauḍhadeva and Gajaveṭṭai-Kaṇḍu-aruḷiva were adopted by his father too, namely Mallikārjuna. Both father and son bore the same titles. Mallikarjuna had two other sons, Rājaśekhara and Devarāya I. The title Prauḍhadevarāya, has been assumed by Virupaksha, another son of Mallikarjuna.

Two other records[116] dated in 30th May 1471, and 9th June 1475 A.D. refer to the fine imposed on an individual, Sundara Paṇdya Brahmarāya. It purports to be an order issued by god Alagiya Tiruvaṇaikka-uḍaiyar transferring two veli of land in Kūrrūr belonging to his brother. We can assign this record to Virupaksha. The individual SundaraPaṇdya Brahamrāya, committed a crime, for which he was imposed a fine of 600 paṇam by Tirumalaideva mahārāja[117]. This recordcan be assigned to the reign of Virupaksha (1465-85 A.D.).

An epigraph dated in 1482 A.D.[118] contains the name of a certain vālaka-Kāmaya alias Akkalarāja, who styles himself as Soḷanārāyanan, Choḷa Bhima, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and also bearing the epithet Uraiyurpuravarādhiśvara and his inscription records the grant of one veli of land in a village, Vaḍakarai Veṇkoṇkuḍi on the northern bank of Kaveri. Though there is no authentic evidence to identify him we cans make a surmise that he was a minor chieftain of Choḷa stock under Vijayanagara rulers.

As stated in the beginning the period under review, witnessed the emergence of recalcitrant, hostile and suspicious subordinates, who defied the central authority. More particularly so, during the reign of Virupaksha, the feudatories began to adopt an aggressive and agitational attitude. The Baṇa chieftain Bhuvanekavira Samarakolahalaṉ who was once loyal and subordinate of the Vijayanagara rulers took advantage of the weakness of the rulers, and during the struggle between Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha (1447-85 A.D.) he asserted his independence.

During this period, the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad III (1463-82 A.D.) ravaged the fertile territories of the South upto Kanchi, 'Oḍḍiyan Kaḷabai' caused by oriyan invasion under Hamvira Mahapatra devastasted the entire Tamil country as far as śrirangam. These events gave a jolt to the otherwise smooth of Vijayanagar rule in the 15th century. The then rulers Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha were not capable enough to arrest the effect of the intrusion of these forces[119].

We are to examine next the two epigraphs[120] of Kṛishṇadevaraya (1509-29 A.D.) His first record[121] dated śaka 1441 (-1519 A.D.) engraved on the north wall of the second prakara of the temple, refers to the gift of 12 Veli of land in three villages to the temple for the daily requirements of worship to the god and goddess by Timmappa Nayaka, son of vaśal-Mallappa-Nayaka, an officer of Kṛishṇadeva-maharaya whose nayakkattaṉam comprised Tiruchchirappaḷḷi-śirmai in Cholamaṇḍalam. It demonstrates that the temple continued to enjoy the patronage and support of the successive Vijayanagara rulers. While the other record[122] dated śaka 1441 (-1519 A.D.) engraved on the same wall of the temple records a gift of one veli of land at Vaḍavur in Rajagambhiravaḷanadu, for the expenses of wirship and offerings on the second day of the annual festival in the temple by the same Timmappa-nayaka for the merit of his overlord, Krishnadevaraya.

A survey of Vijayanagara records found in the temple ranging from 1406-1519 A.D. gives a connected account of the history of the period. Particularly the part played by his generals and ministers, are well portrayed. The number of records of this dynasty in this temple, though few show that śaivism also received encouragement along with Vaishṇavism. Except for a stray incident, during the period of Saḷuva Narasimha (1486-91 A.D.) as evidenced by the Śrirangam temple chronicle, Koyiloḷugu[123] that one Koneriraja (1450-94 A.D.) taking advantage of the preoccupation of Saḷuva Narasimha and Narasa-nayaka in the northern part of the empire seems to have asserted his independence in the Tamil country and also oppressed the Vaishnavas of Śrirangam favouring Saivities of Tiruvaṉaikka and seised the villages belonged to Śrirangam and donated the same to one Koṭṭai Samantan Śennappa Nayaka. He also collected taxes from the citisens who ultimately reported the matter to their overlord Narasanayaka, who invaded the territories of Śrirangam in 1499 A.D. and once again the villages were restored to the original donees.

To conclude we may say, during this period Tiruvaṇaikkā and its environs continued to enjoy the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers. They revived the worship and gave economic support to the activities in this temple, as they did elsewhere, Some minor disturbing events in the course of their rule did not however affect the activities in this temple.

THE NĀYAKĀS OF MADURAI :

The Vijayanagara rulers, including Krishṇadevārāya began to rely more on the Nayakas, who were entrusted with the difficult and onerous task of governing the outlying and remote areas from their headquarters. The Nayakas who served as governors of Vijayanagara rulers, had their headquarters at Tanjavur and Madurai. They also brought Ramanathapuram, Tiruchchirappaḷḷi, Salem and Coimbatore under their control.

The region around Tiruvaṇaikka passed into the Nayakas of Tañjavur initially and the inscriptions of Śriraṅgam bear ample testimony to the endowments made by Kumara Achuta i.e. Achutappa Nayaka son of Sevappa Nayaka of Tañjavur. While the inscriptions of Śriraṅgam maintain a continuity in recording the benefactions made by the Nayakas of both Tañjavur and Madurai, Tiruvaṇaikka does not have inscriptions which reflect on the same of continuity. This however does not prevent us from surmissing that the same patronage as found in the Renganathaswami temple at Śriraṅgam was present in the case of this temple also, though on a lessor scale as proved by the few records.

With the advent of the ruler, Viśvanātha Nāyaka (1529-64 A.D.) a new chapter was opened in the annals of Nayakas. He was undoubtedly a man of great character and calibre. He served with great distinction and devotion, during the Orissa campaign and captured Raichur in 1520 A.D. Ultimately he was nominated as viceroy of South with the high sounding title 'Chief of the Paṇdya country' and 'Lord of the southern Throne'. In 1529 A.D., he became the governor of Madura and cemeted his position.

We get Nāyakas records elsewhere ranging from 1566-1721 A.D. But, we do not get any record of Viśvanatha Nayaka (1529-64 A.D.) at Tiruvaṇaikka. As he was left with the task of conslidating his rule, he had to direct all his time and energy to tackle internal dissension and external aggression.

Viśvānatha seems to have taken the earliest opportunity to provide for safety of Tiruchchirappaḷḷi. He maintained law and order, by clearing jungles on either side of the river, Kaveri. The necessary police arrangements were made to safeguard the life and property of the pilgrims. He paid particular attention to the temples of Tiruchchirapaḷḷi and Srirangam and the Teppakkuḷam seems to owe its existence to

him. He ordered extensive repairs and erection of some new structures. The Koyiloḷugu records that he spent about three lakhs of poṇ for the temple. He built many houses and encouraged habitation all around[125]. Since Visvanatha Nayaka's control over Tiruchchirappaḷḷi is clear, we will not be far wrong if we say that both Śrirangam and Tiruvaṇaikka would have had the benefit of his benign rule, though there are no records bearing on this.

The first epigraph[126] of the Nayaka dynasty of the temple belonged to Kṛishṇappa, engraved on the base of the northern verandah of the second prakara of the temple. It records that Mummudi Timmarasa and his son installed the images of the deities Valampuri Vinayaka, Subramaṇya etc., as the gift of Mahapradhana Vira . . . Daṇḍanayaḳa Uḍaiyar and the inscription is dated in 1566 A.D. It is appropriate to mention here, with the insta-llation of the deity Vinayaka, the expeller of impediments' the Nayaka connection with the temple was inagurated and this tie had lasted till the last ruler of the dynasty, Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.

Although we are helpless to fix the identity of this mahapradhana, we may infer that he also served under the Vijayanagara ruler, Sadaśiva. The latter continued to rule till 1567 A.D. and it seems that he had apent his last days at Śrirangam. Kṛishṇappanayaka, his subordinate had rendered meritorious service to Sadaśivaraya. The epigraph is assignable to Kṛishṇappa-nayaka and a mahapradhana Daṇḍanayaḳa figures in it as the donor of the images. Kṛishṇappa Nayaka was praised in the Kṛishṇapuram plates[127] of Sadaśivaraya. It was in this period the ruler of Vijayanagara launched an expedition against Ceylon and this mahapradhana Daṇḍanayaka rendered a signal service to the imperial rulers. Kṛishṇappa himself was associated with the invasion of Ceylon, and he even assisted the general. An interesting point to be worth noted here is, the expedition against Ceylon might have passed through Śrirangam[128].

The next epigraph[129] belonged to the period of the next ruler, Virappa Nayaka, and it registered the food offerings to god and goddess of the temple from the interest derived on the cash (kaśu) deposit made by a Veḷḷaḷa native of Toṇḍaimandalam and invested in a village. This shows that irrespective of the royal involvement in the activities in the temple, private people continue to have interest. As an ardent devotee of Śiva Virappa Nayakka (1572-95 A.D.)had constructed many buildings and made renovations. An interesting piece of information was the name of the deity has been changed to Aḷagiya Tiruvaṇaikka Uḍaiya Tambiraṇar.

The Nayaka rulers were concerned with the constitution and management of the temple as it is evident from an epigraph of the same ruler which refers to an order of the deity Chaṇḍeśvara conferring the headship upon one Chaṇḍraśekharaguru udaiyar of the Paśupata-mutt. It is possible that the local dignatories and prominent devotees

of the temple might have had a role in making this decision at the instance of the then ruler putting it in the form of an order from the representative deity (Chaṇḍeśvara) who is considered to be the head of the administrative set un in the temple. It is evident that such orders which were issued in the temples were really decisions resulting from the delibrations of the local bodies connected with the administration of the temples, mostly with the knowledge of local ruler. The inscription belongs to 1585 A.D. Another inscription[132] dated November 20, 1595 A.D. in the reign of Vīrappanāyaka mentions the royal gift of annual income of 47 pon due to the chief from the valaikkarar i.e. fishermen family settled in Tiruchchirappaḷḷi for worship and offerings on one of the days during the principal festival to the deity Kaṅkaḷanatha whose image was set up by the king in the temple. Two other records [133] which are on the pedestals of the metallic Dvarapala images placed in the first prakara of the temple is an illustration to the above point. These images were the gifts of Deyvaṅgaḷperumaḷ, the son of a karaṇika of Viśvanatha nayaka virappanayakkarayyaṉ.[134]

An epigraph[135] in Telugu characters mentions one Tirumalamma, the wife of the above donor. Since the record is very badly damaged, we can hardly make out any useful information.

We do not get records of the Nāyakas from 1595 A.D. till the accession of Tirumalai Nayaka (1623-59 A.D) at Tiruvaṉaikka. We cannot offer any explanation to fill this vaccum except the fact, that the Tamil country under the Nayakas did not witness serious political turmoil, Nor is there any authentic evidence to say that the Nāyakas had lost their suzerainty in these place, under these circumstances we have to construe the non-availability of any records during this interregnum, as an indication that worship in this temple was normal, with nothing of note to specify.[136]

There are two spurious copper plates[137] claimed to have belonged to Tirumalainayaka and Chokkanatha nayaka. But the dates of these copper plates and the reigns of the above sovereign do not coincide, we can brush them aside as unworthy of any historical importance. The earlier plate, datedin 1662 A.D. falls beyond the reign of Tirmmalainayaka, who exercised his sovereignity between 1621-59 A.D. while the latter plate belongs to 1653 A.D., but the rule of Chokkanathanayaka was from between 1659-82 A.D. Under these circumstances, we cannot consider them for our purpose.

It was during the reign of Chokkanatha (1659-82 A.D.) that the capital was shifted in 1665 A.D. from Madura to Tiruchchirappaḷḷi. As a matter of fact the similar change was effected during the reign of his predecessors viz., Tirumalainayaka (1523-59 A.D.) and Muttuvirappanayaka (1609-23 A.D.) in 1634 and 1616 A.D. respectively due to political exigencies.[138] By this change and proximity of capital,Tiruvaṉaikka would have been largely benefited.

The last ruler of the dynasty was Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha. Several new additional constructions were made by one Vaidyapeyya, son of Venkaṭeśvarayya an instructor in the Naṭakaśāla. His two records[139] fall between 1721 and 1722 A.D. From these we came to know this Nāyaka ruler was an ardent devotee, a connoisseur of fine arts

The Śriraṅgam temple epigraphs[140] contain numerous references about the gift of gold jewels and vessals made to the temple by the king Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha and his royal house.

It is worth mentioning verbatim the views expressed by R.Sathiyanatha Iyer the doyen among historians who wrote "The History of the Nāyakas of Madurai". Commenting on the catholocity of Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha, he writes[141] "Vijayaranga's excessive religious ferver made him unmindful of his duties as king. Besides criminally neglecting his proper functions, he wasted the resources of the kingdom in lavish donations and frequent royal tours to principal shrines. His inscriptions of 1708, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1724, 1727 and 1728 record grants of lands and villages to temples and charities. One in two years he is said to have moved with a large following to Śriraṅgam, Jambukeśvaram, Madura, Tinnevelly, Āḷvar Tirunagiri and Śrivaikuṇṭham and made liberal gifts to the gods. When he was told that the presents of jewellery and other gifts he had made on a previous occasion were all missing, he would not do so much as institute an enquiry into the mal-version, but would repeat his donations. In thus draining the public treasury he showed little sense of responsibility. His ministers, Naravappayya and Venkaṭaraghavācharya, took advantage of his weakness and pilfered the public revenues unscrupulously. At a time When the country was hastening to ruin, Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha was the last man to be at the head of the realm. Like Vijayaraghava, the last Nāyak of Tañjavur, his essentially religious temperament dug the grave of his reputation as a ruler, and accelarated the collapse of his kingdom. He was too weak to control the destructive elements which had been eating into the vitals of the state for sometime past. He sealed the fate of kingdom irretrievably".

Though the Nāyakas were powerful, still they considered the Vijayanagara rulers as their suzerain. They did not seeds from the central authority completely. A copper plate,[142] which was issued by the king in 1708 A.D. mentions his overlord, the ruler of Vijayanagara, ruling from his headquarters, Ghanagiri. The Vijayanagara ruler styles as Rājadhirāja. This amply bear evidence that the rulers continued to maintain their diplomatic ties with the rulers of Vijayanagara.

To summarise,

(1) After Vijayanagara rulers, the sovereignity of South devolved upon Nāyakas.

(2) They donated liberal gifts and riches to the temple, which shows that the temple continued to command the attention of the officials probably at the instance or on behalf of the rulers or with their knowledge.

(3) It also shows, the Nāyakas, gave a sort of political stability to the area which included Tiruvanaikka.

REFERENCE

1. Puram - 69, 1.12, 212.
2. Puram - 74; K.A.N. Sastri, The Colas, Second Edition, P.51.
3. Muvar Tevaram, Talamurai, ed., by T.M.Kumarakurubaran, Śri Kumarakurubaran Sangam (1968), Verse 26.4, p.255. It is possible that Appar's verse implies that the Kurukkai Virattana temple was one of the seventy shrines. It seems that the Śiva temple at Tiruvkkarai in South Arcot district called Śivalogam was also built by this king (Referred to as Ko-Chola in SII., Vol.17, No.227 identified with Kochchengannan by K.V.Raman). It should be noted that all the temple constructed by him were in brick.
4. According to M.Rajamanikkam, who has made use of the Tamil sources both in detail and depth has arrived at the clinching conclusion that Kochchengannan flourished in the middle of the fifth century, The Development of Śaivism in South India, (unpublished thesis of the Madras University), App. C, p.6. Contra. T.M.Narayanaswami Pillai, Tiruvanaikkakovil (Tamil), Madras University, (1976), pp. 2-6. Examining this problem in very great detail, this recent writer places him to the later half of the 2nd century.
5. SII., Vol.3, p.386.
6. Tiruttani and Valeñjeri Copper Plates ed., by R.Nagaswamy, Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu, 1979, P.26.
7. The Development of Śaivism in South India, App.C,p.6; Pugalsolanayanar Puranam, verses 8-38.
8. SII., Vol.14, Nos. 10 to 12 and 12-B.
9. Ibid., Vol.12, Nos. 8 and 9,
10. Ibid., Vol.24, Nos.1 and 2.
11. S.R.Balasubramanyam, Middle Chola Temples (A.D. 985-1070) Tiruvanaikka (val) (Jambukeśvaram), p.393.
12. ARSIE., 1938, No.8.

13. Ibid., 1983, Nos. 9 and 10.

14. ARSIE., 1907, 1907, No.171.

15. SII., Vol.24, Nos.12-25.

16. Ibid., Nos. 15-17.

17. ARSIE., 1891, No.31; SII., Vol.III, No.76. It is curious to note here that Kulottunga I's records (SII., Vol.24, Nos. 26-108) numbering 82 from his 10th to 48th regnal years are available from Śrirangam. But whereas we come across only a solitary record of his from Tiruvaṇaikka. It may not be out of place to mention here two important records from Śrirangam of Kulottunga Choḷa I and fragmentary inscription of Vishṇuvardhana. In the former record a reference has been made about a Kannaḍa sandhi-vigrahi and daṇḍanayaka of Maharajadhiraja Parameśvara-parama-bhaṭṭaraka satyaśrya-kulatilaka Tribhuvanamalla who is no other than Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya house. The provenance of these two inscriptions at Śrirangam is of special political significance. When examined in detail, it affords a reliable evidence with reference to a raid into the Tamil country, probably between 1107 and 1112 A.D. K.G.Krishnan who has edited the inscription critically and conclusively has proved that both Vikramaditya VI and his quondam subordinate the Hoysala Vishṇuvardana had initiated aggressive campaigns on the frontiers of Choḷa territory on the dates cited above (EI., Vol.36, pp.203 ff.). Though Tiruvaṇaikka do not contain any of the inscriptions of the above kings, we may infer that Tiruvaṇaikka might have also been the target of their attack as number of institutions which suffered from the raids were only Śiva temples (Ibid., f.n.3).

18. ARSIE., 1912, No.489.

19. The records pertaining to the reigns of Vikramachoḷa, Kulottunga II, Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II are not at all available from Tiruvaṇaikka . But their records are engraved in Śrirangam temple. roughly covering the period from 1116 to 1185 A.D. (SII., Vol.24, Nos.109-31).

20. ARSIE., 1938, No.20.

21. Ibid., 1938, No.40.

22. Ibid., 1908, No.483.

23. Ibid., No.480.

24. K.A.N.Sastri, The Colas, p.422 (2nd edition.)

25. Ibid., p.417.

26. Cf. Rajaraja III's record (SII., Vol.24, No.152). which is dated as early as the 9th year (1225 A.D.) can be seen in the Śrirangam temple and his predecessor Kulottunga's record is dated 37th year (1214-15 A.d.) from the same place (SII., Vol.24, No.150).

27. ARSIE., 1938, No.14.

28. Ibid., 1908, Nos. 34-37.

29. Ibid., 1938, No.65.

30. Ibid., 1937, No.116; 1938, No.29; 1937, No.117.

31. Ibid., 1895., Nos. 89-90.

32. Ibid., 1894, No.166.

33. Ibid., 1938, No.27.

34. Ibid., 1937, No.117.

35. Ibid., 1908, No.484; 1913, No.284.

36. Ibid., 1938, No.73; 1903, No.301.

37. Ibid., 1904, No.501.

38. The two records (SII., Vol.24, Nos. 168 and 169) of Rājendra III dated in his 8th and 12th regnal years respectively (1254 A.D. and 1258 A.D.) from Śrīraṅgam temple deserve mention here on account of their importance. Firstly, the records are dated as far as 1254 and 1258 A.D. inspite of the ascendency of the Pāṇḍyas in that vicinity though we do not get Rajendra's record after 1252 A.D. at Tiruvaṉaikkā. Secondly in one of these two records, the title of Rājendra viz., Mama-Someśvara-pratikula-kāladaṇḍa i.e. be is the god of Death to those who are hostile to his uncle, Someśvara. The title implies the friendship between Somesvara and Rajendra III. Thus we can attribute this aspect as an hang over of the Chola power in the region.

39. ARSIE, 1938, No.28; 1891, No.24.

40. Ibid., 1938, No.66.

40. Ibid., 1938, No.66.

41. A similar instance may be cited here. Vijayagaṇḍa- gōpala ruled over Kāñchī for 30 years, curiously enough his inscriptions and of Pallava Kōpperuñjinga are contemporarily engraved at Kāñchipuram between 1254-63 A.D. and also in the adjacent districts of North Arcot and Chingleput. This contemporaniety indicates that Kāñchī was the northern limit of Kōpperuñjiṅga and that the territory further north was in the possession of Vijayagaṇḍagopala. This strange coincide tempted a veteran epigraphist to say that the "northern boundary line between their respective territories was not clearly defined". C.R. Srinivasan, Kāñchīpuram Through the Ages p.163; SII., Vol.12, (Pallavas), Introduction, p.12.

42. P.V.P. Sastry, Kakatiyas, p.109.

43. EI., Vol. 27, p.304.

44. SII., Vol.24, No.283, ARSIE., 1938-39, No.78.

45. SII., Vol.24, No.282.

46. C.R. Srinivasan, Kāñchīpuram through the ages, pp. 186-187.

47. This gift is confirmed by another record (EI., Vol. 4, p.121; P.V.P. Sastry, Kākatiyas, P.134, Appendix 5, pp. 318 ff.) which refers to the gift of the village Salakalaviḍu in Eruva-bhumi to God Srīraṅganāthadeva. See also Ep. Andhrica, Vol.4, p.124.

48. P.V.P. Sastry, Kākatīyas, p.135.

49. His inscription from Śrīraṅgam dated April 6, 1232, A.D. not only records the gift of land by an individual to the temple consecrated by his queen Umadevi but also mentions the title, Chōḷēndrapratishṭhaguru, incidentally of Vīra Narasiṁha (Naraharibhūpāla).

50. ARSIE.,1891. No.18.

51. Another record in Tiruvānaikkā (ARSIE., 1891, No.20) very clearly states that Pōsaliśvaramuḍaiyār was built by Vira Sōmēśvara for the merit of ammai (mata) and the grant of dēvadāna lands from 27th year onwards for worship. The temple, Bhōjiśvara, a corrupt form of Pōsaliśvara which stands even today as the vestige of Hoysaḷa capital was a part of modern Kaṇṇanur in which Samayapuram was also one of the complex.

52. ARSIE., 1937, Nos. 121 and 120.

53. It is very curious to note the Śaṅkaranāyanār shrine mentioned in the inscriptionis at present housed in between 3rd and 4th prakara giving rise to the inference that there must have existed a prakara in between 3rd and 4th. The present 5th Prakara was perhaps the 4th in olden times and the present 4th Prakara was probably a new addition.

54. ARSIE., 1937, No.124.

55. This controversial record has attracted the attention of scholars like K.R.Venkataraman who feels that she was the aunt of Vira Sōmēśvara (Hoysalas in the Tamil Country, p.75). Whereas Derret (The Hoysalas, P.27) considers that she was the mother of Somesvara. How-ever, the words mata, dēviyār, which are used to indidate various individuals bearing the same name, Sōmalā occurring in several records is a point to be studied in depth. However, there is a version (ARSIE., 1937 para 13) the queen of Narashima II (SII., Vol.7, No. 1043) was probably the lady in whose name the paḷḷippaḍai shrine was built and which may be perhaps nearer to the truth.

56. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 5 and 6.

57. Ibid., 1937, No.118.

58. Ibid., No.122.

59. Ibid., 1891, No.19. Some scholars hold the opinion that the construction of the gopura (Sundarapandyan gopuram, the present name) was begun by the Paṇdyas and completed by Vira somesvara. According to K.R. Venkatarman, (Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country - P.81) the gopura was a blend of contemporary Pandya and casual features of Hoysaḷa style.

60. ARSIE.,1938, No.73. However the earliest reference available to this name is in the inscription of Rajendra Chola III dated in the 6th year i.e. 1251 A.D. It is not known when the agarahara came into being.

61. K.A.N. Sastri, The Coḷas, 2nd edition, p.442, f.n.75.

62. K.R. Venkataraman, Hoysaḷas in the Tamil Country, p.28.

63. ARSIE., 1937, Nos. 122 and 123, 1891, No.20.

64. Ibid., 1937, No.125.

65. Ibid., 1891, No.21; SII.,Vol.4, No.422.

66. It is not known whether the god Viśveśvaradeva the beneficiary of the gift was named after his brother Viśvanatha or the Viśvacharya, the royal preceptor of the Kakatiya Gaṇapati as the latter referred to in another record states the sojourn of Viśvaracharya at Tiruvanaikka and the grant of the village of Kumaramangalam in the state to the Lakshadhyayi Golaki Bhiksha-maḍam at Tiruvaṇaikka.

67. An inscription (ARSIE.,1938, No.5) of Vira Someśvara refers to the temple of god Saṅgamiśvaram udaiya Nayanar which in this record (ARSIE.,1938, No.12). of Vira Ramanatha mentions Saṅgamiśvaram-udaiyar at Vira-Narasimha-chaturvedimaṅgalam near Tiruvanaikka. The former and not Saṅgamiśvaram appears to be correct name of the god, and it may have owed its origin to some Hoysaḷa general named Saṅgamadeva as suggested by the name Saṅgamadevar-matha occuring in the former inscription. However, the word, 'Saṅgama' betrayed Hoysaḷa influence and it need not refer to the confluence of Kaveri, Koḷḷiḍam, nearer to Tiruvaṇaikka (ARSIE., 1938, p.97.)

68. ARSIE., 1891, No.26.

69. J.D.M.Derrett, The Hoysaḷas, p.204.

70. ARSIE., 1908, No.485, 1938, No.4.

71. The mention of Rajakkal-nayanar is significant as Vira-Rajendra himself had that title 'Rajakkal-nayanar' denoting the name of a deity from whom the name is derived.

72. SII., Vol.24, Nos.265-277; Nos.194-203.

73. T.V.Sadasiva Pandarattar, <u>Pāṇḍiyar Varalāru</u> (Tamil) pp.114.

74. <u>ARSIE</u>., 1938, No.47.

75. Contrary to the above view, there is a record of Rājarāja III dated in his 9th regnal year (August 7, (1224 A.D.) at Śrīraṅgam (<u>SII</u>.,Vol.24, No.152). The donor of this record is Āraiyan Viradamuḍitian <u>alias</u> Gurukularāyar of Śevvirukkai Chakrapāṇi-nallūr in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It clearly shows the nominal rule of Rājarāja in that region. Further in the subsequent year i.e. March 28, 1225 A.D., we get record from the same place of Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya I who styles himself as <u>Sōnāḍuvalangi-aruḷiya</u> significantly.

76. <u>ARSIE</u>.,1938, No.3.

77. <u>Ibid</u>., 1938, No.30.

78. <u>Ibid</u>., 1908, No.3; 1938, No.30.

79. <u>Ibid</u>., 1938, No.21.

80. <u>Ibid</u>., 1938, No.30.

81. <u>Ibid</u>., 1908, No.482.

82. A.Krishnaswamy, <u>The Tamil country under Vijayanagar</u>, p.119.

83. <u>Śembiyanai śinam eriya porudu śuram puga oṭṭi paimpoṉ muḍiparittu Bāṇarkku Koḍuttaruḷi.</u>

84. <u>ARSIE</u>., 1908, No.408.

85. <u>SII</u>., Vol.4, No.372, Vol. 5, No.471.

86. The Śrīraṅgam inscription eulogises his conquest over Sōmeśvara - <u>SII</u>., Vol.24, No.194.

87. <u>Ibid</u>., No.195.

88. <u>Ibid</u>., Vol.5, No.459.

89. <u>EI</u>., Vol.3, pp. 11 and 14.

90. <u>ARSIE</u>., 1891, No.32; <u>SII</u>., Vol.4, No.433.

91. S.Krishnaswamy Iyengar, <u>South India and her Mohammadan Invaders</u>, pp. 218-19.

92. <u>ARSIE</u>., 1891, No.24.

93. <u>Ibid</u>., 1938, No.28.

94. As the title Śēraṉaivenṟan is applied in this record specifically to the king the suggestion made in the <u>ARSIE</u>., 1926-27, para 4, that it was possibly a record of Māṟavarman Kulasekhara would have to be modified.

95. ARSIE., 1927, No.75.

96. Ibid., 1938, No.77.

97. In common parlance the term tiru-maḷigai denotes the palace, and we have to interpret the term as the temple-complex of Sundarapaṇḍya a name perhaps given by Jaṭavarman Sundarapaṇḍya himself. In this respect we may quote a parallel example, how 'Pandikuḷa-Sani-vaḷanadu' in which Tiruvanaikka is situated during Rajaraja III's time was changed by Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya while denoting the same division as 'Paṇḍiyakulapati-vaḷanadu' in his inscription from the same temple. This record with the Paṇḍyan emblem of two carps and a gold sculptured near it calls the wall as tirunirṛuSundara-Paṇḍiyan tirumaḷigai but in courseof time, that its connection with the Paṇḍya name having been forgotten the rampart is known as Vibuti(tirunirṛu prakara). Since the record belongs to the 14th century, one of the Sundarapaṇḍyas flourished in this century must have had the title, (tirunirṛu-paṇḍya.

98. ARSIE., 1891, No.25. His Śriraṅgam inscription is earlier by a month, viz., December 6, 1277 A.D., SII., 24, No.204.

99. K.R.Venkatarman, Hoysaḷas in Tamil Country, p.28.

100. The absence of the records of the successors of Māṟavarman Kulasekhara I viz., Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya III and Maravarman Kulasekhara II and the presence of their records at Śriraṅgam amply demonstrate that the Paṇḍyas continued to retain their political and administrative hold over this region (SII., Vol.24, Nos.222-252.)

101. K.R.Venkataraman, Op.cit., P.31.

102. The Delhi-Sultanate, n.232.

103. Gaṅgadevi, Madura-Vijayam, ed., by S.Thiruvenkatachari, PP. 56-57.

104. K.R.Venkataraman, Op.cit., PP. 37-39.

105. The Delhi Sultanate, p.232.

106. ARSIE., 1938, No.22.

107. The history of Vijayanagara reflected as gleaned from the epigraphs of Tiruvaṇaikka has actually commenced from the reign of Devaraya (1406-22 A.D.) whereas in Śriraṅgam we do get the epigraphs of the Vijayanagara rulers right from Kampaṇa (1371 A.D.) SII., V0l.24, Nos.287, to 308

108. ARSIE., 1937, No.113.

109. Ibid., 1937, p. 82, para 56.

110. Ibid., 1937, No.134, Cf. A.Krishnaswami, Tamil country-under-Vijayanagar, p.170.

111. SII., vol. 24, No.329.

112. ARSIE., 1938, No.75.

113. Ibid., 1903, No.67; SII., Vol.8, No.342.

114. A. Krishnaswami, Op.cit., P.166.

115. ARSIE., 1937, No.106.

116. Ibid., Nos. 103 and 104.

117. This Tirumalaideva Maharaja is different from Saluva Tirumalaideva, who was the governor during Devaraya II (1422-26 A.D.) and in Mallikarjuna's reign.

118. ARSIE., 1891, No.30; SII., 4, No.31; EI., Vol.3, PP. 72-73.

119. A. Krishnaswami, Op.cit., PP. 106-121.

120. ARSIE., 1937, Nos. 105 and 107.

121. Ibid., No.105.

122. Ibid., No.107.

123. Kovilolugu, P.128.

124. SII., Vol.24, Nos.490 and 513 dated respectively 1570 and 1595 A.D.

125. R. Sathianatha Aiyar, History of the Nayakas of Madura, p.53.

126. ARSIE., 1938, No.7.

127. EI., Vol.9, PP. 328-42; R. Sathiyanatha Iyer, Op.cit., P.72.

128. Ibid., P.330.

129. ARSIE., 1903, No.66; SII., Vol.4, No.341.

130. Tirupanimalai, verses 52-54.

131. ARSIE., 1937, No.135. It is not dated in the reign of the ruling king, though the date Śaka 1506 falls in Venkata I's reign of Vijayanagara overlord.

132. Ibid., 1937, No.136. This extends the reign of Virappanayaka by two months (i.e. from September to November ARSIE., 1936-37, pt.II, para 65, p.86).

133. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 1 and 2.

134. A record of Krishna Virappa-nayaka, of Śaka 1517 is found at Jambukeśvaram (ARSIE., 1936-37, No.136) and it is possible that these bronzes were also cast during his time. The difference in the description of this king is perhaps due to the facts that the more famous name of Visvanatha was associated with his own name in the former and the actualities in the latter were recorded.

135. ARSIE., 1938, No.45.

136. The Nāyaka influence is manifestly seen in the records of this dynasty from Śrirangam during the period between 1595 to 1623 A.D. (SII., Vol.24, Nos. 514 - 525.)

137. ARSIE., 1938, No.A. 25; 1950-51, No.A.10.

138. R. Sathianatha Aiyar, History-of-the-Nayakas-of Madurai, p.160, 113 and 103.

139. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 48 and 49.

140. SII., Vol.24, Nos. 562, 564 to 568, 573.

141. R.Sathianatha Aiyar, History of the Nayakas of Madurai, pp.229-30.

142. EI., Vol.16, p.88.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The primitive people of the bygone past were worshipping trees. As a matter of fact a particular tree came to be associated with the symbol of a particular group or clan for purpose of identification. And in still later days the erstwhile kings of the Tamil kingdom of Sangam age paid more attention to the "kaval-maram" which was held in high esteem and any sacrilege to the tree was treated as an act of treason and punishable with capital sentence. Thus we find many references in the ancient Tamil literature that the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras had different and distinct trees to indicate their respective dynasties such as Atti, Vembu and Panai. The term koil (kovil) denotes both temple and the palace. It is no wonder a similar concept developed in having a particular tree as a symbol or emblem of a particular temple[1]. Temple was the hub of religious and social activities and the congregation under a particular tree was inevitable to transact a business. Therefore, in South India almost all the temple do have a "sthala vriksha" e.g. we have Kadamba tree (Madurai), Tillai (Chidambaram) which probably served as the meeting ground for the village folk. Concomitantly the trees were held in great reverance and a mythology or religion was woven around them. presently we are concerned with the Tiruvanaikka temple wherein the sthala-vriksha is white Jambu tree (Eugenia Jambolana). The origin of the tree is traced to the sage Jambu who according to the legend swallowed the seed. It was actually spit by Lord Śiva and consequently the seed grew into a big tree spliting the skull of the sage. At the request of the sage. Śiva was pleased to take his abode under this tree. Parvati under the directions did penance underneath this. Hence it is so sacred[2].

The phallus worship is considered to be the most ancient one and similarly of Śiva could be traced to the days of Indus Valley civilisation wherein we get the seals and sealings of the dancing poses of Lord Śiva The scholars who have done much spade work and intensive research in this direction have arrived at a conclusion that these figurines are the forms of Rudra being the synonym of Śiva and his worship can be traced even before the Christian era. The Vedic people however in course of time had given a shape and form to the aspect of destruction. The Śaivism came into being. There is a remarkable difference between the Śaivism that was adopted in the days of Yore and the Śaivism that is being seen and practised at present. It underwent so many changes from primitive practices to the sophisticated and, disciplined worship today. Gudimallam seems to have had the abode of the first and foremost temple that housed the most ancient Śiva Linga[3].

Presently we are concerned with the Tiruvanaikka temple wherein the Linga is known as Appu (water) Linga. The origin of the Linga is traced to parvati, who did penance in order to attain the supreme knowledge. It was suggested to parvati by Lord that among the threefold paths namely Chariya, kriya,Yoga (to obtain supreme knowledge)

namely Ñana one should go through the ordeals of Kriya. He further recommended to her, that she should go to Tiruvaṇaikka, a place which is considered equally sacred as Kailasa, itself for achieving this noble object. Accordingly Parvati propitiated Śiva in the midst of the blazing fire and also by the divinely grace she squeezed a linga out of water. Thus the linga came to be known as "Appu linga" one of the five elements.At the behest of the sage Jambu, the linga was christened as Jambu Linga. The Puraṇas narrate that all the nine tirthas and the environs are so sacred for gratifying the wishes both mundane and spiritual[4].

The well-known story of the spider and the elephant clearly gives evidence to the structure of the evolution of the temple. It also gives a lucid picture how a tiny temple became lofty in size and dimension according to the necessities of times. The spider (Malyavaṇ a Gaṇanatha) became Kochchengannan in his rebirth. He with meticulous care built the entrance of the temple in such a way not to admit the tusker. probably this shows the king was having nostaligic mamories of his prievious birth and his enmity with the elephant (pushpadanta, Gaṇanatha) that worshipped simultaneously with him[5]. The Tamil devotional literature describes this temple as Yaṇai-puga -maḍam, Maḍakkovil,etc.

Our aim is to study the development of Śaivism with reference to Tiruvaṇaikka from literary and epigraphic materials.when a chronological attempt is made we are able to notice that different sects of Śaivism also such as Kapalika, Vama, Bhairava, Śakta,etc., were prevalent in Tamilnadu.

In the Saṅgam period certain amount of tolerance was seen among the fellow religions. But in between the Saṅgam period and the Kaḷabhras, Vedic religions including Śaivism suffered a great set back as is evidenced by the Velvikkudi plates[6] wherein a reference has been made with regard to stoppage of activities of Brahmadeyam. The Kaḷabhra interregnum is not only a dark spot in South Indian history but also it caused animosity in the religious sphere[7].

Kochcheṅgaṇṇaṉ (450-500 A.D.) the Choḷa king built 70 Śiva temples on the banks of the river kaveri[8]. The sudden upsurge of so many temples which were built in the course of the river kaveri was definitely due to the political and religious condition of the period. It may not be out of place here to mention the devotion of Kochcheṅgaṇṇaṉ, to wards the Lord in its previous birth as a spider and in consequence of this total surrender to the almighty, he was destined to be born as the king of the land probably as a result of his deep devotion. The legendary account says Kochcheṅgaṇṇaṉ's mother at the time of her delivery deliberately delayed it by a nali (naligai) by remaining in the topsy-turvey position. As a result of this ordeal, the body in the womb got blood shot eyes which became his derivative name[9].

The first and the foremost reference to Tiruvaṇaikka comes from the pen of Aiyadigal kaḍavarkoṉ (586-610 A.D.)[10] of Pallava extraction, as the name implies. He is said to have composed a poem for each temple in his religious tour. Regarding the period

subsequent to Aiyadigal kadavarkon, we are tempted to say that Śaivism was flourishing during the period of Mahendravarman I (615-630 A.D.), the mighty monarch of the Pallava line, who claims in one of the inscription from the Rock-Fort that under his own volition changed his faith from Jainism of Śaivism[11]. This clearly shows that there was Śaivism but it was in low ebb. Probably due to the royal patronage a boost was given to this faith and the Cholas who succeeded Pallavas fell in line with predecessors in promoting and propagating this faith with active moral support of the reloigious saints of the day.

Appar, Tiruñanasambandar and sundarar (660-865 A.D.) flourished in the succeeding period. These religious savants toiled very hard to unify the people in the Śaivite fold. Appar and Tiruñanasambandar are known for their abusive but clinching remarks of other contemporary faiths in varying degrees[12]. Probably this may be due to the dominating trend of opposite faith and also the gap of time between these two saints. Sundra's remarks and references are not so virulent so far as Tiruvanaikka is concerned.

Appar professes the path of yoga neri[13] that leads to the Lord. He condemns the atheist [14] while Sambandar preaches the path of Vedaneri or the codes of Veda for attaining the salvation.[15] A word may be said here that there are two ways of worship in attaining salvation. Sambandar admits both of them were right in their mode of worships namely Anbu neri (path of blind love-compare Kannappar's episode) and Agama neri i.e., present rituals based on accepted principles.[16] We can infer from Sambandar's hyms that the religious atmosphere at Tiruvanaikka underwent a reformative stage and that Vedic influence can also be seen as all over in Tamilnadu.

Prior to Tiruñãnasambandar's entry into the religious arena, it can be inferred that the bad practices such as Vamachara was prevalent. During this period the various sects and divisions of Saivism such as Kapalika, Bhairava, Kalamukha, pasupata, Mahavrata, etc., had less influence and hold on the people.

All the three saints mentioned above invariably quote anecdotes and allusions from the Puranas.

During the Chola period, Śaivism reached its zenith. Temples were constructed in large numbers vying with each other creating marvels in the discipline of art, architecture and sculpture. They had a telling effect on the public. Unfortunately so far as the religious activities are concerned, we know next to nothing for a period from the first member of the dyansty to Kulottunga I (1070-1112 A.D.) except Parantaka I (907-55 A.D.) who left three inscriptions.[17] Though we get only a few Chola records of this temple, we can recount the religious life of the people, through the inscriptions of the adjoining temples of Śrirangam.[18] Therefore, the absence of the records of the Chola kings should not be construed as a negative evidence. In kulottunga I's period,[19] his successors Rajaraja III's period (1216-46 A.D.)[20] and Rajendra III's period[21] (1246-79 A.D.), we find donative records exempting lands from taxes for the upkeep

of the temple both by the royalty and laity. In some of the records[22] we find references also to other religious faiths such as Jainism and Vaishṇavism. The exemption of taxes on lands endowed as paḷḷichchandam[23] unmistakably betrays the prevalence of Jainism as late as 13th century. Similarly there is a reference to the demarcation of boundaries between the Tiruvaṇaikka temple and Raṅganatha temple. The litigation was of minor nature namely of boundary dispute in relation to the devadana lands between the Śiva and Vishṇu temples. This shows that there was amity and harmony with neighbours who professed non-Śaivism. The inscriptions[24] register the steady to progress of Śaivism during the period subsequent to Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.). Even the Paṇdyas, Hoyasaḷas, Kakatiyas, the major powers, Kopperuchinga the minor power won their strip of land by the prowess and arms and as followers of different faith in their personal lives, they never hesitated to enrich the temple by their munificient gifts [25] and indirectly contributed their mite for the growth of Śaivism. Thus Tiruvaṇaikka became one of the important Saiva centres.

The over riding influence of the elite classes represented by the landlords, kings etc., is made clear by the numerous references to the endowments created by them. But the role played by the devarkaṇmigal, the temple executive, right from the worshipping priest (archaka) who was a sivabrahmana assisted by brahmana cooks and helpers and also non brahmana workers like the musicians, the servants, garland-makers, sweepers etc. has almost been ignored. Since their participation in the daily life of the temple is taken for granted,their role is not often highlighted. This has been treated as being "mentioned in passing while they should be given equal credit in influencing the religious life of the people, not with standing the very economic base of their activities.[26]

Vira Someśvara is described as the moon of Karnataka race. He claims to be the Choḷa prithiṣtapanacharya in his inscriptions.[27] Cementing his ties with the Choḷa house by marriage he dominated the Choḷa politics and administration. He did not lag behing the Choḷas in the philanthropic activities and he made inportant structural additions[28] and important renovations[29] to Tiruvaṇaikka temple as gleaned from the epigraphs. The inscriptional references[30] of the Hoysaḷa monarchs and queens who were his predecessors and contemporaries were immortalised by him as we find their names are given to number of shrines such as Vallaliśvaram, Padmalleśvaram, Vira Narasimheśvaram and Somaleśvaram evidently called after (a) his grandfather Ballaḷa II (b) his grandmother padmala (c) his father Narasimha II and (d) his queen Somala. some of the records[31] of this dynasty show that even the queens came forward to institute several services and festivals in the temple besides the king himself. The fact that no such shrines have been raised in the Ranaganatha temple nearby by the Hoysaḷas reflects their leanings more towards Śaivism. This shows that the Hoysaḷas continued to encourage Śaivism even as their ally the Choḷas had been doing for centuries. But this practise of erecting shrines with deities named after the kings or erected in memory of a king or queen is nothing new.[32]

Two interesting epigraphs[33] engraved on the west wall of the second Prakara of the

temple refers to the gift of six ma of land in the 21st Year of Vira Somesvara by Jakhaladevi, queen of Rahutta Jajaladeva, son of in the 13th century to the temple in order to institute some services to their tutelary deity Jambukesvara.[34] This unmistakably reveals the fact that during the period, the temple was very popular, as it attracted people from far and near.

The son and the successor of Vira Somesvara namely Vira Ramanatha, who had the fortune of sharing the southern territories of the Hoysala kingdom in which Tiruvanikka happens to be very near to his capital Kannanur, extended better treatment in terms of donation in cash and king and made additions to the temple complex.

Individual attention that was paid to the temple was mainly due to the ascendancy of Pasupata sect of Saivism during his rule. This was evidently due to the presence of Visvesvara Sivacharya, a staunch follower of Pasupata sect in whose name a deity was installed. It is argued in some quarters that this guru of Kakatiya Ganapati had very great influence on Vira Ramanatha. we have to admit the fact that during the rule of Vira Ramanatha, there was sudden spurt of activities of Pasupata sect.[35] The Tiruvanaikka temple received rich dividends resulting in the creation of many mathas in particular. This paved the way ultimately for the influence of the kamakoti-pitha to have more say in the affairs of the temple and also establishing the right till today. The tatanka-pratishtha to Akhilandanayaki is still the proud prerogatory of Sankaracharya of Kanchipuram matha. Coming back to the religious activities,during Vira Ramanatha's reign, one temple prasannisvaram udaiyar alias Rajakkalnayanar[36] was built and three shrines for Visvesvaradeva,[37] pasupatisvaramudaiyar[38] and Eduttarulia Sripadisvaramdaiya nayanar[39] were installed in the temple complex.

In one of the Hoysala inscription[40] of this king we get a very clear evidence about the garden called "Silandiyai-Cholanakkinan- tiruttoppu". This provides an evidence that the story and the legend continue to rank in the minds of the people as late as 14th century as attested by another record of Maravarman Kulasekhara I [41](1268-1310 A.D.)

Maravarman sundara Pandya I (acc.1216 A.D.) came early to the Chola country on a mission of pillage and plunder and also to wreak vengeance on return for the earlier confrontation in which the Pandyas were subjected to severe indignities and humiliations. Maravarma Sundara Pandya I gained control over the Tiruchirapalli region or Cholamandalam. He never hesitated to enrich the temple at Tiruvanaikka. Similarly Jatavarma Sundara Pandya I (acc.1251 A.D.) guilded the Srivimana of the famous Srirangam temple lavishly. He turned his attention towards Tiruvanaikka temple by his gracious gifts .[43]. He even instituted services named after him on the day of his asterism.[44]

His successors who were holding the region for a short spell followed his foot-prints in instituting servies in their name[45] and filled the coffers of the treasury of Tiruvaṇaikka temple with valuable ornaments and other presentation both in kind and cash for the upkeep of the temple and for the development of Śaivism in particular.

They took up the task of building the rampart (madil) and named it as Tirunīrru Sundara Paṇdyan madil. The significance of building this or renovating the madil which as the legend goes was built by Lord Śiva himself by paying Vibuti (tiruniru) to the workers depending upon the quantum of work turned out and it was held in great reverence.

This pious act of building this madil would have a thrilling effect on the people of that land which was conquered by the Paṇdya when the Choḷa power crumbled like a pack of cards. The label inscription[46] together with the royal insignia found on the walls cannot lead to any conclusion except palaeographically that the characters belong to 14th century. But raising a very big wall and naming it as Tirunirru madil clearly reflects the inclination towards Śaivism of the Paṇdyas.

The chaotic conditions that prevailed during the close of 14th century are described in the account of Gaṅga Devi, wife of Kampaṇa. In the biographical poem she describes the plight of the temple of Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvaṇaikka on account of the barbaric and brutal attack of Muslims.

Referring to Tiruvāṇaikka temple she says "that Lord of Gajaranya (Tiruvāṇaikka) who killed an elephant for his garment was reduced to that condition once again.[47] She adds "The folding of their doors were taken by woodworms. The arches over the inner sancturies were rent with wild growth of grass. These temples (Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvaṇaikka) which were once resonant with the sounds of (mridaṅgam) drums were now echoing the fearful howls of jackals. The river Cauvery became deflected very much from her course and was flowing in all sorts of wrong directions imitating ruthless invaders. The Brahmin streets where once the sacrificial smoke was seen rising and the chanting of the Vedas always greeted the ear, now sent out musty odour of meat and resounded with the war cries of the drunken marauders.[48]

At this juncture Kampaṇa the Vijayanagara prince arranged through his general Gopaṇṇa for the revival of Hindu faith in Tamilnaḍu including the Tiruvaṇaikka area in 1371 A.D.[49] The Muslim rule came to an end from 1371 A.D. In one of the records[50] dated 12, December 1427 A.D. of Vijayanagara king with full regal titles as an emperor (Devaraya II, 1422-46 A.D.) an order of the king to Śirupparaśar to revive worship in the Vishnu and Śiva temples in the kingdom by remitting taxes other than the usual vibuti- kaṇikkai due to the king from the devadana lands. It clearly shows that the Śiva and Vishnu temples which were affected by the Muslim invasion were taken up by the Vijayanagara kings for revival of worship. Further when the officers harassed the people by oppressive taxes resulting the migration of people elsewhere and consequently the worship in the temples were stopped, the religious minded rulers

of this dynasty immediately set things right. Various measures were taken by the king for the conduct of worship, services and festivals in the temple as they were in the time of Bhupati, the son of Bukka II (1404-06 A.D.)[51].

The reign of Dēvarāya II (1422-46 A.D.) withnessed construction of the madil and the southern entrance into the fourth prakara[52] and the gopuram.[53] It is apparently seen that a regularity was maintained after the cessation of worship for sometime due to the Muslim invasion during the reign of Mallikarjuna (1446-65 A.D.) Krishnadevaraya (1509-29 A.D.). For Mallikarjuna took delight in decorating the goddess Akhilaṇḍanayaki with a pendant (Padakkam).[54] Krishṇadevarāya's officers instituted colourful service called "tirukkartikai diparadanaikkaṭṭalai",[55] and they even went to the extent of makijng provision to celebrate with gusto, the second day festival during the Brahmotsava for the merit of the emperor Kṛishṇadevaraya (1509-29 A.D.) We have pointed out in the chapter on 'Literary Sources' that the tirthas in the temple complex were held in great reverence. The reference[56] to a gift made on the day of mahamakham, provides an indirect reference that the tirthas of Tiruvaṇaikka were more superior in sanctity and sacredness than Kumbakoṇam a place which attracts crowds in large number to have a dip in the holy waters of that place.[57]

An interesting case of boundary dispute between Śaivites and Vaishṇavites during this period deserves special mention. When the matter was referred to the king he sent an arbitrator who neither belonged to saivites of Śrīvaishṇavites sect but to the pontifical line of a Madhva maṭha called Vyasaraya mutt and who was also his guru in 1375 A.D.[58]

The Uttama Nambi Vaibhavam and the Kōyilolugu, the Śrīvaishṇavite works say that Uttama Nambi was blind folded with a wet-cloth and was asked to traverse through the disputed land with a malu in one of his hands and Ashṭakshara mantram on his lips. The symbolic gesture of dispensing justics is being repeated even today in one of the routine rituals in the month of Paṅguni. The place where Uttama Nambi erected the maṇḍapa to commemorate this event, was subjected to vandalism and ruinous state now. This episode clearly reveals the king's anxiety to avoid major conflicts and confrontations for communal riots between the two parties of the major sects of Hinduism.

Among the inscriptions from 1406 to 1519 A.D. of Vijayanagara dynasty, we get one or two records of the prominent kings on their religious tours to the South and endowing gifts to the Tiruvaṇaikka temple. But on the contrary we notice a number of inscriptions of this dynasty recording gifts to Śrīraṅgam temple and this shows that Vaishṇavism was patronised more. But a stray incident is however seen during the period of Saḷuva Narasimha as evidenced by the accounts of Koyiloḷugu that Koneriraja (1488-94 A.D.) taking advantage of pre occupation of Saḷuva-Narasimha and Narasa nayaka, in the northern part of the empire seems to have asserted his independence in the Tamil country and also to have oppressed the Vaishṇavas of Śrīraṅgam. The Koyiloḷugu states that Kōneriraja favoured the Śavivites of Tiruvaṇaikka as against the Vaishṇavas of Śrīraṅgam and gave away the villages

belonging to the temple of Śrirangam to one Kottai Śamantan Śennappa nayaka. He also collected puravari, kanikkai, parivattam and other taxes which had been remitted by previous rulers. The vaishnavas represented the case to Narasa nayaka through kandadai Ramanuja. The consequent invasion by Narasa nayaka in 1499 A.D., led to the restoration of the villages to the temples suitably.[59] The contemporary poet Kalamegham also attests to the social and religious disharmony during this period.[60] During the Nayaka period the installation of the sculptural representation of Lord Vinayaka just in front of the Nandi- stambha,[61] important additions of metallic images of dvarapalakas by some of the officers[62] of the Nayaka kings Krishnappa and Virappa respectively, the composition of Dantivanappuranam by Kamalai Ñanapprakasar, the installation of Kangalanatha by Virappa nayaka and diversion of the income from valaikkarar i.e. fishermen family settled in Tiruchirapalli to be spent on one of the Brahmotsava days[63] are some of the important mile stones in popularising Śaivism.

The last ruler's (Vijayaranga chokkanatha (1706-32 A.D.) enthusiastic attitude towards Śaivism led to the excessive drain of the exchequer in the form of lavish gifts, donations and frequent royal tours with his retinue affecting in its turn the stability of his kingdom[64].

We are now moving to the next phase of the religious history namely the matha and its association learning, where a sect or group of persons who followed the tenets of a particular religious individual of heads met[65]. Thus we hear about eight mathas in Tiruvanaikka right from the days Cholas to Nayaka period. The break-up periodwise, will be the Chola period-4 mathas, Hoysala period - 3 mathas. But certain mathas which began right from the Chola days continued to exert influence till the close of Nayaka rule and some of the matha could not function independently and merged with the bigger mathas or influential matha of the day. The present study while enumerating the matha also tries to analyse as far as possible the origin and development of the mathas in relation to Tiruvanaikka temple. The characteristic nature of Śaivism was to admit to its fold both Brahmanical and non-brahmanical groups.

In the days of Śankaracharya, we find referene that he ordained his disciples to establish 4 or 5 mathas in different centres of the Indian peninsula to propagate the principles of monism (advaita) and religious harmony in the path of seeking grace or salvation. Similarly there was a movement in Tamilnadu before and after Sankaracharya, in various divisions, sects and creeds in Śaivism. These groups formed themselves under some banner or other according to the exigencies of the situation or according to the popularity of the pontiff. We have already stated elsewhere that Tiruvanaikka was noted for different branches of Śaivism. Therefore there is no wonder that each had its own matha.[66]

Narpattannaviravar madam : Now chronologically speaking, we get the earliest reference to the above madam. The numerical cannotation Narpattannaviravar, means 'forty eight thousand'. There is a sect called among the Brahmins "Ashtasahasram" which means eight thousand and "Tillai Muvaviram" which denotes three thousand Brahmanas of Tillai. Apart from these, we come across a place called "Ennaviram" in

South Arcot District from Rajendra I inscription.

The two inscriptions[67] from Tiruvanaikka refer to the construction of Narpattennaviravar madam by Avurudaiyan sol akon [-Arasandan (Sola)kon] on the northern side of the temple at Tiruvanaikka Udaiyar tirumadai vilagam. The version given in both the records is one and the same.

It records the royal grant of lands made in the name of Pasupatinallur to provide for the feeding of the ascetics who are the disciples of a certain Namassivayadevar belonging to the Tiruñanasambandar-madam in the eastern tirumadaivilagam of Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Nachchiyar in the temple of Tiruchchattimurram-Udaiya at Kil pal aiyaru alias Rajarajapuram in Kulottunga-sol avalanadu.

The internal evidences show that these two records belongs to the reign of Kulottunga III. The Tirupalatturai inscription[68] provides an important link between Narpattannayiravan-madam andTiruñanasambandar madam. These records state that they were in existence in one and the same place and thus drive us to the conclusion that both are one and the same. The lineage of the mudaliyars of Tiruchchattimurram (of whom Namassivayadevar mentioned in Tiruvanaikka record was one of the pontifical head) seems to have had branches in different places and headed by different pontiffs of the line of Tiruchchatti-murram. They are Jñanasiva, Paripurnasiva, Isanasiva. The suffix Siva is very suggestive that leads us to conclude positively that they belong to one and the same order.

There is a reference to Namassivayamurti, the pontiff of a non-brahmanical Saiva matha in Tiruvaduturai in Tanjore district. The Namassivayadevar of theTiruvanaikka inscription may be identical with the other. If the identification is correct we have to believe that the above two mathas were non-brahmanical and they had branches in different places apart from Tiruvanaikka.[70]

The provenance of the inscriptions which refer to Narapattennayiravan-madam is an important factor to be reckoned with. The Annual Report for the year 1908 of Indian Epigraphy clearly says that these inscriptions were copied from the west wall of the present Sankaracharya matha to the north of the temple in the north car street in Tiruvanaikka. In addition to this there is a copper plate[71] now in possession of the present Sankaracharya matha of Tiruvanaikka which claims that this matha is of their own (avanta) and from olden times (Purya modalukoni) they were occupying it. From the above evidences we may have to conclude that there was a take over of this matha by the present Sankaracharya-matha or it was given as a gift by the descendant of Tiruchchattimurrattu-mudaliyar to the Sankaracharya of Kañchipuram or it may be that the latter occupied the matha whem Saivism had declined in the locality and the matha was left in the ruined state.[72] The change must have taken place somewhere between the date of the stone inscriptions (1178- 1217 A.D.) (now lost) which speak about Narapattennayiravan madam and 1708 A.D. the date of the copper plate record Still the author personally views strongly that the ownership of this matha as claimed by Sankaracharya of Kañchipuram is genuine from its inception.

Sommanathadevar madam : One of the inscriptions[73] of Rajaraja III dated in his 28th year (November 30, 1243 A.D.) mentions Somanathadevar-madam of Kiliyur while Narapattennayiravan madam and 1708 A.D. the date of the copper plate record Still the author personally views strongly that the ownership of this matha as claimed by Śankaracharya of Kañchipuram is genuine from its inception.

Sommanathadevar madam : One of the inscriptions[73] of Rajaraja III dated in his 28th year (November 30, 1243 A.D.) mentions Somanathadevar-madam of Kiliyur while narrating the boundaries of the gift lands wherein the lands of the Somanathadevar-madam were excluded in the transaction. It is not possible to ascertain the origin and acctivities of this Śaiva matha except that the members of the mathas were andars[74] who solely dedicated themselves to the service of the deity at Tiruvanaikka.

Akhilandanayaki madam : A separate shrine for the female deity in a Siva temple called tirukkamakottam began to be raised from about the time of Chola Rajendra I[75] (-1012-1044 A.D.). Though we do not have any evidence for the construction of the Akhilandanayaki shrine in this temple, we may not be for wrong if we assume that the Shrine might have been constructed much earlier than the time of Kulottunga III (acc. 1178 A.D.) if not from the 11th century itself.[76] This shrine appears to have become popular enough as to lead to the establishment of a monastry in the name of the goddess.[77] We get a cross reference to Akhilandanayaki madam at Tiruvanaikka not from that place but from Pudukkottai inscription[78] of Rajaraja III dated 1240 A.D. Probably for the first time at Tiruvanaikka we come across a matha named after a particular goddess. We have already seen that more or less during this period there was a sudden popularity of the Devi cult and the inscriptional references also mention number of gifts that were given to the goddess. This development of Tiruvanaikka may be due to the fact that all the invaders like Pandyas and Kakatiyas wanted to spread and spear-head this movement. The reference to Jiyar Viśveśvara Śivacharya who was the head of the Golaki matha, a migrant from the province of Radha and preceptor of the Kakatiya king, Ganapati (± 1199-1262 A.D.) The suffix "Jiyar" is generally given to a Vaishnava pontiff. But the suffix "Jiyar" in Viśvesvara Jiyar should be taken to mean one who had conquered the senses in analogy with Vaishnava Jiyar. All these show that the śakti-cult which was once predominant and forgotten was revived in a modified form. To illustrate this truth we may quote the instances wherein animals are sacrificed even today by the devotee a by way of thanks-giving for the fulfilment of their vows. There is an inscribed stone dated 3rd March 1585 A.D. before the altar suggesting that the very stone is being held in very great respect and object of worship, In reality, the inscribed stone[79] is nothing but an order (tirumugam) of appointment of a Chandrasekhara Guru Udaiyar, a Paśupata-grihastha as manager of the temple issued by Chandeśvara. The date portion of this record falls during the reign of virappanayaka.

This important change has brought a significant turn in the administration adopting Pāśupata principles in matters of worship and also in selecting the heads of the maṭha namely patrimonial succession. Preference to Pāśupata cult was necessitated because of the learning position etc.[80] Judged by the results, the change appears to have been for good. Chaṇḍraśēkhara Guru Uḍaiyar also known as Śrikaṇṭha Ākasavasi Chandrasēkhara vājapēya Yāji warn evidently a much respected person at Jambukēśvaram and the first of atleast three generations of scholar managers of the temple who are reported to have done much for it and worked for the maintenance and spread of the necessary spiritual atmosphere in it. From the inscriptional evidence of his grandson Sadāśiva Makhin in the same temple of whom we will be discussing in a separate appendix, we can arrive at a conclusion that Chendrasēkhara Guru Uḍaiyar died in 1605 A.D.[81]

Āṇḍar Embirān Maḍam : The Tiruppalāturai inscription[82] refers to the existence of a maṭha called Āṇḍar Embiran maḍam at Tiruvānaikkā.[83] The inscription of Rajendra III (dated in 1250-51 A.D.) mentions Śembaikuḍi mudaliyar. It is Observed in the relevant Annual report on South Indian Epigraphy that the maṭha of Śembaikuḍi mudaliyār was not wielding so much influence as that of the Tiruchchattimuṟṟa-mudaliyars. The latter were powerful because of this catholic outlook of this maṭha in admitting the adherents solely from non-brahmans. Unfortunately we do not have inscriptional references about these maṭhas in Tiruvāṇaikkā temple. Strangely we do not find any traces of their existence in Tiruvaṇaikka, structural, religious or any other at present.

Saṅgamadevar Maḍam : Imitating the contemporary Chōḷa, Hoysaḷas too extended their benefactions to the four maṭhas during their period of their control over Tiruvānaikkā. Of these four maṭhas namely Saṅgamadēvar-maḍam, the names of two maḍams not known and Naḍuvil-maḍam, Saṅgamadēvar maḍam deserves special mention.

The inscription[84] (dated 1238-39 A.D.) records the exemption of taxes granted by Vīra-Rāmanātha endowed by Avvai Somalamahadēvi to the Saṅgamadevar maṭha, at Tiruvaṇaikkā. In the chapter on political history[85] we have suggested, Saṅgama the name of the maṭha perhaps owes its origin to one of the Hoysaḷa general bearing the name. Now we can suggest another alternative supposition with regard to this. In Karnataka Vīra Śaivism was spreading like wild fire during this century. Basavēśvara Who launched this movement is held as one of the architects for bringing up this movement to the forefront by his poems called Basavēśvara vachanas in which the last line will contain the phrase or adoration to "kuḍalasaṅgama deva".[86] This Kūḍala Saṅgama is in Karnataka and it was the chief centre of vīra Śaivism. The Hoysalas being Karnataka people who extended their hegemony in the South naturally would

have patronised the Vīra-Śaiva movement. Our view is further strengthened by the prefix avvai which is a honorfic term in Kannada which means elderly and respectable lady. Sōmaladēvi has been identified as the aunt of Vīra-Sōmēśvara.[87]

Lakshādhyāya Santāna maṭhas : Gautamaśiva Rāvaḷar is mentioned as the disciple's disciple (praśishya) of Svāmidēvar in an inscription.[88] From another inscription[89] we learn that Svāmidēvar belonged to Santāna of Mudaliyars of Lakshadhayaya. Gautama Śiva Rāvaḷar seems to have established a maṭha at Tiruvāṇaikka during the period of Vira-Ramanatha on 9th July 1256 A.D. as may be inferred from the former inscription.[90] The Ārappākkarn record[91] of the 12th year of Rājadhirāja II (-1175 A.D.) gives a clue that Svāmidēvar was the Śaiva teacher of Rājadhirāja II (-1163-79 A.D.) Between these two records there is a gap of eightyone years (1256-1175-81 A.D.) in Which two generations might have headed the maṭha.

K.A.N. Sastri in his work "The Cōḷas"[92] rightly believes that there were Śaiva maṭhas manned by the disciples of Lakshadhayaya santana in the important Saiva centres and Tiruvāṇaikka was one among them, Santana meens an offshoot, the son or disciple and the term Lakshādhayaya probably refers to the lakh of students or disciples in different places totally, in other words this maṭha seems to have more followers to its credit and we see in Tiruvanaikkā itself there are three maṭhas one of which is called Naḍuvil-maṭha[93] and seems to have been affiliated to the lineage of Lakshadhyaya Santāna. The word Naḍuvil indicates that it was centrally located.

The next reference comes from an inscription[94] of vīra-Rāmanātha (dated 1257-58 A.D.) to a maṭha whose pontiff seems to be an ascetic of distinction Who is described as "Tatpurusha Śivāchārya" and so on belonging to the Lakshadhyaya mudaliyar santana maṭha and a disciple of Śvamidēvar. The strings of epithets attached to this noble personality makes us believe he was having a remarkable erudition and scholarship in the field of Śaiva Siddhāntha. The Hoysaḷa king appreciating the work of this Śivāchārya had exempted some taxes and gifted the lands which was purchased from the two villages Kiḷiyur-naḍu and Geyamaṇikka-chaturvedimaṅgalam mentioned in the transaction. The reference to the twenty third year of Vīra Sōmēśvara which corresponds to fourth and fifty regnal years of Vira Rāmanatha indicates that the transactions commenced during the reign of the previous king and concluded during the reign of the reigning king who probably might have confirmed it with his seal as suggested by the phrase "devar oppam" iṭṭadu. We are now concerned with the religious history of Śaivism during the period of Hoysaḷas in general and this inscription gives the concrete evidence that scions of Lakshadhyaya Santana were there at Tiruvāṇaikkā propagating the canons of Śaivism and also probably Vīraśavism.

A distinct preference to the worship of the goddess Akhilāṇḍanāyaki at Tiruvāṇaikkā during the later period is discernible through the establishment of a separate maḍam in the name of the goddess. It is possible that the later day practice of sacrificing of animals outside the precincts of the temple was due to the prominence of the female deity devotion to whom found an expression at a lower level using the name of Kaḷi.

We have seen above in detail that there were different sects of Śaivism such as Pāśupata, Vīraśiva, Śaiva Siddhāntha, Brāhmanical at Tiruvāṇaikkā preaching their own doctrines depending upon the circumstances and patronage by the royalty. A close study reveals the continuous activities of the contemporary figures as kings like Kōchchenganṇaṇ, Rājarāja III, vira-Someśvara etc., queens like Somaladevi, ascetics or saints like the Śaiva ācharyas Tirugñānasambandhar, Appar etc., pontiffs of different lineagem like Lakshādyaya, Goḷaki, Sankaracharya etc., and sects like Śaiva Siddhāntims, Vīra Śaivas and Pāśupatas at Tiruvāṇaikka. It is possible that these activities might have had an impact on the life of the people around the locality though we do not get any direct evidence bearing on this.

REFERENCES

1. Kamalai Ñāṇappirakāśar, Tantivanappuranam, ed., by V. Veeraswami, Intro., p.34.
2. Kochchiappa Munivar, Tiruvānaikkappurāṇam, ed., by M.V. Ramanujachariyar, Intro., pp. XXII-XXIII.
3. C.R. Srinivasan, Kāñchīpuram through the ages, p.243.
4. Kamalai Ñanapprakāśar, Op.cit., pp. 60-61.
5. Ibid., Intro., p.48.
6. EI., Vol. 17, p.293.
7. M. Rajamanikkanar, Periyāpurana Araychchi, p.88.
8. Ibid., P.88.
9. Kamalai Ñanapprakāśar, Tantivanappurāṇam, ed by V. Veeraswami, p.187; Also Kachchiappamunivar, Tiruvanaikkapuraṇam, ed., by M.V.Ramanujachariyar, intro., p.11.
10. M. Rajamanikkanar,Periyāpuraṇa Āraychchi p.96.
11. Ibid., P.80.
12. Mūvar Tēvaram, Talamurai, Sri Kumarakurubaran Sangam, Srivaikundam (1968), pp.431, 435.

13. Ibid., Verse 60.1, p.436

14. Ibid., Verse 60.6, p.435

15. Ibid., Verse 60.9, p.434

16. Unodundal nanruena unoduundal tiduena anatandar anbinal pesininratanmaiyan Muvar Tevaram, Talamurai, Sri Kumarakurabaran Sangam Srivaikundam (1968), Verse 60-9., p.432.

17. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 6-10.

18. SII., Vol. 24, Nos. 12-25.

19. ARSIE., 1891, No.31.

20. Ibid., 1937, No.108; Ibid., 1938, Nos. 32, 35, 24, 126, 13, 31.

21. Ibid., 1937, No.114; Ibid., 1938, Nos.29, 27, 73, Ibid., 1937, Nos. 115, 117.

22. Ibid., 1891, No.23, sigaranapperumpalli, Ibid., 1938, No.33, Kavirasapperumpalli and Vinnagar Emberuman Koyil; Ibid., Nos.32, 34-36, puvala Sundara Vinnagara Alvar.

23. Ibid., 1938, Nos. 34-36.

24. Ibid., 1937, No.108; Ibid., Nos. 32, 35, 24; Ibid., 1937, No.114; Ibid., 1938, Nos.29, 27.

25. Ibid., 1938, No.78; SII., Vol.24, No.283.

26. Paul Younger, The Role of Landlords, Kings and Priests in the operation of a Southern Indian Temple, Śrinidhih, Shri K.R. Srinivasan Festschrift Ed., Dr.K.V.Raman and others, Madras, 1983, p.245.

27. ARSIE., 1891, Nos. 18-19.

28. Ibid., No.18; Ibid., 1937, No.118. Tyagavinodisśvaramudaiyar shrine.

29. Ibid., 1891, No.19.

30. Ibid., No.18.

31. Ibid., 1891, No.26.

32. Paul Younger, Op.cit., P.249. Paul Younger observes "Clearly the Hoysala king had a different idea of the kings rule in temple worship from that held by the Cholas who proceeded him". This is incorrect since the latter had set up lingas named as Kothandarameśvara, Rajarajeśvara, Aditheśvara etc. and endowed them with gifts of considerable value. Also his statement that the Hoysala built temple which featured images of Vallala II, Padmala etc. is incorrect since only lingas were set up.

33. Ibid., Nos. 27 and 28.

34. EI., Vol.30, p.22, f.n. 5.

35. T.V.Mahalingam, The Journal of Oriental Research , Madras, Vol.XXV, Parts I-IV, p.79.

36. ARSIE., 1910, No.92; Rājakkaḷnāyan appears very likely to have been a surname of Vira Ramanaṭha or his father Vira Somesvara. Prasannasiva is stated to have belonged to a lineage of Śaiva teachers (ARSIE., 1910, p.101, pt.50; K.R. Venkataraman, Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country, P.76.

37. ARSIE., 1938, No.12. It is not known whether the God Viśveśvaradeva was named after his brother or the royal preceptor Viśveśvara Śivacharya who figures in another inscription belonging to Tiruvaṇaikka of the same period receiving gifts.

38. Ibid., 1938, No.4. The prevelance of Pāśupata sect of Śaivism as implied by the name of the God Paśupatiśvaram Uḍaiyar.

39. Ibid., 1938, No.25. The Eḍuttaruḷia Sripādiśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār is nothing but the Naṭaraja aspect of Lord Śiva.

40. Ibid., 1938, No.4.

41. Ibid., 1891, No.25.

42. Ibid., 1938, No.3.

43. Ibid., 1891, No.32.

44. Ibid., 1938, No.28.

45. Ibid., 1891, No.25.

46. Ibid., 1938, No.77.

47. C.R.Srinivasan, Op.cit., P.229, f.n. 12.

46. Gangadevi, Madurā Vijayam, ed., by S.Thiruvenkatachari (1957), PP. 56-57.

49. A.Krishnaswamy, The Tamil country under Vijayanagar, PP. 54-59.

50. ARSIE., 1937, No.113.

51. Ibid., P.82, Para - 56.

52. Ibid., No.134.

53. Ibid., 1938, No.75.

54. Ibid., 1903, No.67.

55. Ibid., 1937, No.105.

56. Ibid., 1891, No.30.

57. EI., Vol.3, pp. 72-73.

58. S.Narasimhacharyar, Uttama Nambi Vaibhavam,(1912) P.12.

59. A.Krishnaswami, The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar, pp. 144-45.

60. Śriraṅgat tārum Tiruvānaik kāvarum pōraṅga māgap poruvadēn .....

61. ARSIE., 1938, No.7.

62. Ibid., Nos. 1 and 2.

63. Ibid., 1937, No.136.

64. R.Sathianatha Aiyar, History of the Nāyakas of Madurai, pp. 229-30.

65. Tamil Lexicon, p.3020; K.Nambi Arooran, Saiva mathas in Tamilnadu, paper presented in World Hindu Religious Meet, 1982, Ceylon.

66. ARSIE., 1909, p.102, pt.53.

67. Ibid., 1908, Nos. 486 and 487.

68. Ibid., Nos. 585 and 586.

69. Ibid., 1909, P.102, pt.53.

70. Ibid.

71. EI., Vol. 16, p.88.

72. Ibid.

73. ARSIE., 1938, No.31.

74. See f.n. No.76.

75. K.R. Srinivasan, Tiru-k-kāmakkōttam in South Indian Temple, Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, 1946.

76. SII., Vol. 24, No.142.

77. Paul Younger, Op.cit., P.246.

    The concept of fertility referred to by him will have to be pro-dated if it has really anything to do with the goddess, his subtle argument connecting the goddess, the land, the river and Kulottunga's maikīrtti are all chronologically out of place.

78. IPS., No.196.

79. ARSIE., 1937, No.135.

80. J.Dunkan, M.Derret, P.B.Desai Felicitation Volume, P.94.

81. T.V.Mahalingam, The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, p.82.

82. ARSIE., 1908, No.584.

83. Āṇḍār seems to be a dedicated band of devotees who employed themselves in the servitude of the temple such as cleaning, plucking the flower developing the Śaivism etc. These group of persons were probably sheltered under one roof (M. Rajamanikkam, Periyapuraṇa Āraychchi, p.258).

84. ARSIE., 1938, No.5.

85. See Infra., p.103.

86. P.B. Desai, Basaveśvara and his times, p.334.

87. ARSIE., 1938, p.95, pts. 52 and 54.

88. Ibid., 1937, No.125.

89. Ibid., 1891, No.21.

90. Ibid., 1937, No.125.

91. Ibid., 1899, No.20; Ibid., 1937, p.80, pt.50.

92. K.A.N. Sastri, The Coḷas (1975), P.650.

93. ARSIE., 1946-47; No.88.

94. ARSIE., 1891, No.21.

CHAPTER IV
ECONOMIC HISTORY

INTRODUCTIONS:

In recent years the study of Hindu temples as economic entities has assumed great prominence in that economic historiography of medieval South India. The work of Burton Stein marks the important step towards a new methodology in the analysis of temple inscriptions and their socio-economic import.[1] In his work on the Tirupati temple epigraphs, Burton Stein has suggested that the monetary endowments made by the peers and state personages, as well as by private individuals were translated into reliable investments aimed towards the generation of a stream of income which was used to finance temple rituals. In the same work he pointed out that the endowments in the form of lands, constituted a significant mode of investment for political personages. The study raised a number of interesting questions regarding the temple as an economic arena in the early medieval South India. In this chapter an effort would be made towards elucidating the questions dealing with the role of the Tiruvaṇaikka temple from the early Choḷa period to the Nayaka period. In order to avoid a simplistic correlation between political periodisation and economic trends we have chosen to divide this treatment into three chronological systems.

The three periods into which our discussion is divided are as follows :

PERIOD - I :

Age of the Cholas of the Vijayalaya line from 850 A.D. to 1279 A.D.

PERIOD - II :

Hoysaḷa - Paṇḍya period.

PERIOD - III :

Vijayanagara and after.

Each of the three periods demarcated above has a set of characteristics which enable us to treat them in an integrated fashion. During the Choḷa period the major focus of economic activity was the gradual extension of peasant agriculture as shown by Burton Stein.[2] He has argued that from the time of Rajaraja I, in 985-1014 A.D. the Choḷa state made possible the integration of small agrarian units known as Naḍus in the inscriptions into a panregional economic system.[3] The Naḍu based agriculture of the Choḷa times was dominated by the naṭṭavar, who constituted the prosperous peasantry and whose leaders often time appear as the spokesmen of their locality bearing the titles Kiḷan, Uḍaiyaṇ, Muvenda Veḷaṇ, Araiyaṇ and such like[4]. During the age of the

assemblies such as Sabhai or Nāḍus in the case of Veḷḷanvagai villages.[5] In a recent article Y, Subbarayalu has argued, the ur seems to have occupied a less prominent position when compared to Sabhai and Nāḍu[6]. Agrarian integration in the heartland of the Choḻa country has rendered possible the institution of eleemosynary tenures to the brahmins. Such villages known as Brahmedeya as shown by Stein were restricted with in the 250 feet contour which implies the prime agricultural lands were granted to Brahmins, facilitating a broader and stable agrarian system.[7]

The two features discussed in the preceding paragraph namely the prevalence of Sabhai has agrarian bodies and the large scale proliferation of Brahmedeya villages bearing the characteristic suffix Chaturvedimangalam are the two major features of the Choḻa agrarian order. From the middle of the 11th century we notice a significant change in the nature of agrarian relations due to the emergence of the Chitrameḻi Periyanaḍu.[8] Burton Stein has argued that with the emergence of the Chitrameḻi Periyanaḍu, the stable agrarian system of the Choḻa period was undermined, leading to what the terms as supralocal integration.[9] Groups of agriculturists co-operating under the leadership of the Chitrameḻi Periyanaḍu interacted with the Tisai-avirattu aiññurruvar for the export of locally produced goods with the Nanadesi merchants as the intermediators in this trans regional commerce. With the decline of the Nāḍu - bound peasantry and the concomitant transition to supralocal co-operation, we enter a new epoch in the economic history of South India, which also coincided with the Hoysaḷa intervention in the Tamiḻ politics and the resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas, under Jaṭavarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I[10]. The last phase analysed here is that of the Vijayanagara state and its successors in the form of the Tañjavur Nayakdom and the Madurai Nayakdom. During this period, the Nayakas played a key role in the management of temples and also as donors to the temples. Nayaka participation in the economic life of the temples often led to the encroachment of temple lands by the Nayakas and in this temple, we have a few instances.

The sources for this chapter are the inscriptions engraved on the temple walls. We have confined our analysis only to the epigraphs found in the Tiruvanaikka temple. However inscriptions found in Śrirangam temple have also been fully exploited to fill in the gaps. The justification for this course lies in the close proximity between the two temples. Typically the inscriptions are donative in character and we have utilised all the 165 inscriptions for this study.

The number of inscriptions of each dynasty with regard to endowment of lands is listed below :

Choḻa	..	7
Pāṇḍyas	..	6
Hoysaḷas	..	18
Vijayanagara	..	3
Madurai Nayaka	..	2

LANDS AS GIFTS DURING THE CHŌḶA PERIOD:

The Tiruvāṉaikkā temple had a hoary past nōne the less equal to that of Śrīraṅgam. Honoured by the three great Śaiva āchāryas, the temple must have enjoyed the patronage of the people. The construction of this temple in stone might have been done only in or after the reign of Āditya I. The Chōḷa kings would not have left out this temple in paying equal if not more attention to this temple as in the case of Śrīraṅgam temple. But the present condition of the epigraphical records makes us suspect that the temple has undergone complete renovation especially in its central shrine where there is not a single inscription today.[11] It is therefore not surprising that we are not able to get a continuous history of this temple from the time of Āditya I atleast. In the absence of such information our regular account is bound to begin only from the times of Kulōttuṅga 1. This should not be construed as the absence of any economic activity in the temple before his time.

The earliest inscriptions of the Chōḷa period found in the temple date to the reign of Parāntaka I (907-53 A.D.) Three inscriptions of this king have been found recording the gift of livestock[12]. Due to the framentary and mutiliated condition, the purport is not clear. However there are reasons to believe that during the reign of Parantaka I gifts of livestock to temples for keeping alight lamps in the sanctum with ghee was prominent.

A curious anomaly exists in the inscriptional records. For a period of over 120 years, from 953 A.D. to 1116 A.D. we do not find a single inscription. This period was marked by powerful warrior kings such as Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. The absence of their inscriptions may be explained by the fact that both of them paid their attention to the creation and establishment of temples proclaiming their power and devotion.[13] An inscription of Rājarāja I found in the Brihadeśvara temple records the transfer of the personnel of Tiruvāṉaikkā to the temple at Tañjavur.[14] The inscription which records a long list of appointments made by Rajaraja I to the new temple mentions the transfer of dancing girls from Jambukeśvara temple at Tiruvāṉaikkā to Tañjāvur and they were given one share in the devadāna villages of Brihadeśvara temple. This summary and bulk transfer would have been effected by Rājarāja I with a view to have straight away an improved service and expert performance in respect of the cultural activities befitting the great temple constructed by him. Since no other temple in the land would have enjoyed the same patronage as that of the big temple at Tañjavur, it is possible that those out lying places were left to them-selves to make substitute arrangement. The situation at Tiruvāṉaikkā would not have been very different. The situation obtained before the times of Rājarāja I might have continued. The provision made for such services must have continued allowing only the change of persons

without affecting the economic background in this way. No epigraphical evidence is however forthcoming in this respect.

From the time of Kulottunga I almost all the major Chola kings are represented in the inscriptions, which provide insight into the economic life obtaining in and around Tiruvanaikka.

The inscriptions of the temple suggest that the lands held by the temple were termed as tirunamattukkani. This term occurs frequently in medieval South Indian inscriptions to describe the landed property of the temples held in the name of the deity.

The holdings were held as kani of the god. The term tirunamattukkani has been construed as lands held by the temple with melvaram (proprietary rights and share as such) accruing to the temple. However, the lands were still subjected to taxation by the state unless they were declared as Iraiyili. An inscription of Rajendra III,[15] dated in the 5th year records an order of the king granting 25 veli of land to the Tiruvanaikka temple as tirunamattukkani. These lands were situated in Nitta Vinoda Valanadu. Another epigraph[16] of the same king records the grant of land by Araiyan Sundalvan to the temple as tirunamattukkani. Thus during the Chola period the major tenurial category of the temple land holding was designated as tirunamatukkani.

The inscriptions do not make explicit mention of the lands under its control. However, while describing the boundaries of lands either bought or sold by the temple or received as gifts the term tirunamattukkani appears, not only in Pandikulasani Valanadu but also in the adjoining areas such as Nittavinodavalanadu,[17] and Rajagambiravalanadu.[18] In the Pandya period, lands were gifted to the temple as tirunamattukkani in Eyi nadu.[19]

TEMPLE AS LAND OWNER:

CHOLA PERIOD:

There are only four inscriptions found in the temple recording the gift of lands to the temple. An epigraph of Kulottunga I dated in his 47th year in 1116 A.D. records the undertaking given in respect of a contribution of stipulated share of the produce from 4- 3/4 veli of land purchased from the temple for 41/16 kasu by Villavarayan for worship and services to an image installed by him in the temple.[20] Even though the temple has parted with the land of its own, it was seen to it that provision was made from the produce of the land for services to an image set up by the purchaser. Though the ownership has been passed to a private party, the process of reaping back some benefit from the land indicates the inclination of the temple (authorities) to retain a

claim on the land. Another inscription of Kulottunga III records the grant of 22 veli of land by Avudaiyan solakon to Narppattenayira matha affliated to the temple[21]. It is only in the reign of Rajaraja III that we get a number of records involving transfer of ownership of lands to the temple from certain individuals. Two individuals bearing the name Tiruvanaikka Velan and Tiruvannaval Velan signifying their attachment to the deity at Tiruvanaikka had kani rights in some lands at Rajarajamangalam, the southern hamlet of Gandaratitta Chaturvedimangalam (modern Gandaradittam in Udaiyarpalayam Taluk). They sold in the 13th year (= 1229 A.D.) of Rajaraja III respectively one kani and the next one half of a ma and half of a kani and kilkkal for 2500 kaśu and 8000 kaśu. The draft of inscriptions recording these sales is a very simple one[22].

Some time in the 17th year (September 12, Sunday 1232 A.D.) lands were transferred to the temple from an entire village. The lands involved were situated not in Tiruvanaikka, but at Kilarrur alias Rajarajan Kurrangudi which was situated in Pachchil kurram bounded by the villages noted in the remarks column of the accompanying table.[23] This may be located to the west of Valadi. The entire irrigated land in the possession of the individual sellers, of the extent of 21 veli and odd excluding the lands belonging to other temples of different dinominations such as Aiyan Pidari and Palli in that locality out of the total extent of 35 veli and odd according to the register of the village. The set of 6 documents gives details of the transaction informing us about the different individuals along with their titles, the boundaries, the names of the temples whose lands have been excluded etc. In each of these documents the same boundaries are repeated but the location of the lands is not given. The prices of land actually sold by the owners, each set differing from the one given in the other in the inscriptions are given pointing to the rate being approximately 5000 kaśu per veli. We are not informed about the reason why in this particular year the entire land in the village was purchased by the temple; nor do we get any information about the utilisation of this land. A sum of one lakh nine thousand nine hundred and fifty six (109956) kaśu was disbursed by way of meeting the cost of these lands. The source of this money and also the lands purchased in lieu of it as well, presuppose an intense economic activity making the temple flourishing activity. The details are unfortunately not forth coming. It may be easily surmised that the lands acquired would have certainly boosted the activities of this temple with reference to both daily worship and the festivals.

Similar sales of land to the temple by several individuals[24] as well as by urar collectively[25] recorded in the inscription of Rajaraja III upto his 29th year (= 1245 A.D.) and also in the records[26] of Rajendra III. There are very many records of the Chola period which refer to the donations made to the temple[27] and to affiliated

institution like mathas.[28] A few other records[29] the direct involvement of the king through his officers in granting exemptions from taxes. The inscriptions of the last mentioned category are the only extant royal record which reflect the involvement of the royal house. The main cause why many individuals sold their lands to the temple is not far to seek.[30] In the later Chōḷa period, the protracted and prolonged wars between Rājarāja III and Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the frequent intervention of the Hoysaḷas in the Chōḷa politics, the rise of the recalcitrant chief Kōpperuñjinga, all created political turmoil and instability. Besides, the numerous taxes levied by the state and the extortion by the Hoysaḷa generals affected the people of the Chōḷa state.[31] Added to these a famine swept over the state and the people were left with no other alternative except to run away from the villages.[32] Hence they sold these lands to the temple at higher prices. Thus the temple which cannot likewise move out of the place as the people could, and had cash in deposit, perhaps helped by furnishing cash to the migrants or the needy that were in arrears of tax, inscriptions from other places attest to this. Besides these lands were situated in the fertile tract of the Kāveri basin and hence there was a spurt in the price. Added to these, the temple had become an important centre of the society and as a natural corrollary the temple had besides supporting and financing numerous rituals and services out of the yields of the income from the lands. The temple was assured of melvaram and this enabled the temple to fulfil its obligations.

Throughout the Chōḷa period the temple authorities such as Dēvakaṇmis or Ādichaṇḍeśvara and Śribhaṇḍarattar were involved in the purchase of cultivable and fallow land as a result of which the temple acquired immense landed property.[33]

Ins.	Ref.	Total extent	Total Sold	Extent of land sold	Price in Kasu	Seller	Remarks
ARSIE.,1938,	No.32	35 veli and odd	21 veli and odd	4 veli and odd	20,993	Araiyan Nittakalyanan Malavataraiyan and five others from Turaiyur, one each from Paluvur and Anaichchur	For items 1-5 the boundaries were the same i.e., Valadi on the east channel on the south, Chembiyan Kurrangudi on the west and Kiramangalam and Valadi on the north.
ARSIE.,1938	No. 33	-do-	-do-	5 ½ veli and odd	26,645	Two persons from Turaiyur bearing the designation Muvenda velan	
ARSIE.,1938	No. 34	-do-	-do-	1 veli and odd	5,776	Nittakalyanam Tillaik kuttan from Turaiyur *alias* Viluppariyan	
ARSIE.,1938	No. 35	-do-	-do-	5 veli and odd	24,502	Fifteen persons from different locality	
ARSIE.,1938	No. 36	-do-	-do-	-do-	25,845	Fourteen persons from different locality	
ARSIE., 1938	No. 37	22 and odd	14 and odd	1 ½ veli and odd	6,195	Sendan Alvandan from Dharmapuram (Purchased from seven persons of whom four were from Valadi)	The boundaries were : Sempalani, Channel, Sendamangalam, Ogachcheri, Kilarrur *alias* Kurrangudi

The exact details and their computation are given below : P.153

HOYSAḶA-PAṆḌYA PERIOD :

There are 23 epigraphs in the Tiruvāṇaikkā temple belonging to the Hoysaḷas. Out of which 14 inscriptions are dated in the reign of Vira Someśvara from his 2nd year (= 1234-35 A.D.) to 25th year (= 1257-58 A.D.) while 9 are in the reign of Vira Ramanatha from his 2nd year 1256 A.D. to 14th year (= 1269 A.D.). No other Hoysaḷa king is represented. During the Hoysaḷa period large benefactions of land were made to the temple. An epigraph of Vīra Someśvara during the 3rd year (1235-36 A.D.) records that the king donated 32 veli as devadana to the shrines of Vira Choliśvara, Padmaliśvara, Vira Narasingisvara and Somaliśvara in Vaḍa-Tiruvaṇaikka purchased from the temple on the payment of 110,000 kaśu and declared the land tirunamattukkaṇi.[34] Another inscription of the same king during the 22nd year ' (= 1255 A.D.) records the donation of 40,000 kaśu[35] to the temple which seems to have sold some land to the king who donated the same to the temple. The Hoysaḷa queens also donated lands to the temple,[36] during the 6th year (= 1258 A.D.) Queen Somaladevi, a queen of Vira Someśvara gave a gift of taxes on the tirunamattukaṇi lands of the temple in order to finance the worship and food offerings in the Padmaleśvara temple[37] during the 25th year (= 1257-58 A.D.)

In addition to the gift of lands we have, during the Hoysaḷa period, inscriptions recording the gift of paddy to the temple. His two records[38] dated in the 3rd and 4th year refers to the assignment of 1000 kalam of paddy by the king from the villages Korramangalam and Alagiyamanavaḷanallur in Rajagambira-valanaḍu for worship and offering to God Śankaranayanar enshrined in the fourth prakara of the temple in the month of Maśi in the name of the king. An important inscription on the 2nd year (= 1234-35 A.D.) records the order of the king Vira Someśvara concerning the remission of taxes, kaḍamai on the devadana lands belonging to the Tiruvaṇaikka temple to finance worship, and renovation activities in the newly built Posaliśvara shrine in Kaṇṇanur and for 4 images at Tiruvaṇakka temple. The tanattar of the temple received the order and undertook to perform puja in the name of the king.[39] Another inscription[40] in the 21st year (= 1253-54 A.D.) records the gift after purchase of 600 kuḷi of wet land by Jakhaladevi, the queen of Rahutta Jaialadeva son of Bhimadeva of Saubhana family of Kashmir. This interesting inscription shows that the temple attracted patrons even from the remote places.

In the reign of Vīra Rāmanātha the temple received house sites, maḍappuram and wet lands.

The inscriptions[41] suggest that the temple expanded considerably during this period, as a large number of temple functionaries figure in the transactions. The inscriptions dated in the reign of Hoysaḷa kings are generally informative regarding activities discussed in detail in the chapter on political history which generated some spurt in the economic life in and around the temple. The construction of several shrines in memory or for the merit of Someśvara's relatives must have led to huge expenditure on the part of the king and conversely income on the part of the labour employed for the purpose.

The recorded facts of these construction imply not only the expenditure on construction but also the creation of endowments to provide for continuous worship in those shrines. Provision was made both in land and also in kind i.e. specified quantity of paddy to be collected from the villages like Korramangalam. The activities on the part of the king have prompted private individuals like Tyagapperumal of Kalvakkur to construct a similar shrine within the temple complex for Tyagayinodiśvaram Udaiyar evidently named after himself. These reflect the interest shown by the Hoysalas in the temple-complex which was accessible to them immediately after crossing Kollidam not far away from Kannanur, their local capital.

The main temple of Tiruvanaikka had acquired a vast area of lands in Rajarajan-Kurrangudi and other places as explained above in 17th year (= 1233 A.D.) of Rajaraja III just before the accession of Vira Someśvara.

PANDYA :

The very few Pandya inscriptions from this temple record provision made for special sources of worship through endowments of tax free lands, thus increasing the prospects of generating more activities in respect of such lands with benefits for the community moving in the temple. The inscription[42] of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I dated in the 7th year (1222-23 A.D.) records the grant, probably of land in Kachchimangalam, a hamlet of Maraneri alias Dinachintamani Chaturvedimangalam for a special festival ending with the day of avittam in the month of Āvani (natal star of the king) for the distribution of tirtha. Another[43] of the same king dated in the 11th year (= 1226 A.D.) refers to the sale of 800 kuli of land in the eastern side of fifth prakara for 4,800 kaśu to two persons who were required to tend a garden. This transaction is aimed at augumenting the income of the temple by the sale and also retaining the land for the purpose of utilising towards the needs of flowers for the temple. Apparently it was left to the two persons Venadudaiyar and Magadarayan to extract as much out of this garden for the benefit of this temple and also for their son. It seems similar such sales were always aimed at preventing the land from going out of their control. The ownership rights were retained indirectly for the benefit of the temple.

This is confirmed by another inscription[44] dated in the 10th year (= 1260 A.D.) in the reign of Jatavarman Sundara pandya I which records similar sale of land for the purpose of creating a water course (Odai) for 400 rasipanam to a physician (savarna) Srivallabhan Suryadevan alias Vaidya-purandaran who undertook to supply flowers for decoration (sattuppani) to the deity and his consort Vadiveyumangainachchiyar and Akhilandanayakiyar. The land sold fetched income by way of price and also flowers for the deities by way of the terms and conditions imposed on the purchaser. This signifies the right of the temple as the owner of lands to loose out by sale the devadana lands for specific purposes. Incidentally this arrangement resulted in the lands otherwise lying unculvitated but to better use bringing more income for the temple in the process.

The Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya is represented by four inscriptions. An inscription[45] of this king records the exemption of taxes (with effect from the 103rd day in the 21st year (= 1272 A.D.) on the villages, Muṭṭaipadi, Viratoṅgapuram and Pagankuḍi in order to finance a special service on the day of the king's asterism Mula, during the month of Chittirai. Another inscription[46] of the same king records the gift by the same king for the same purpose. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I, in addition to making the gifts enumerated above, also undertook to construct a tirumaligai around the temple.[47]

The temple had also resorted to the process of auctioning (peruvilai) specified lands fordefinite purposes. The purchaser Devaṉ Paḷampatikku Nayakan alias Muṇaivadaraiyaṉ a native of Mutturu in Pandimandalam made a successful did in accepting the land by paying 20,000 kāśu as the price of one veli of wet land and 2 ma of dry land. According to the terms of this sale Muṇaiadaraiyaṉ undertook to provide eloborately for a specific service of worship on the day of his birth star bharaṇi to the deity and his consorts and also to Pollappiḷḷaiyar and also for other connected services like adhyayanam, rare pilgrims (apurvi) supply of water for bath, garlands etc. The entire proposal was made to the temple authorities and Śrimaheśvaras who approved the same. The land in question is said to have belonged to the deity (devadanam tirunamattukkaṇi) it should be noted that inspite of the heavy price it was ensured that the land was put to use for the benefit of the temple in addition to it. The transaction is recorded in the inscription,[48] dated in the 10th year (= 1278 A.D.) in the reign of Māravarmaṉ Kulasekhara I.

VIJAYANAGARA :

The advent of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country began with the incursion of Kumara Kampanna towards the middle of the 14th century A.D. The inscriptions of Kumāra Kampaṇṇa adhere to a set formula which states Kumara Kampaṇṇa Uḍaiyar came on his southern campaign, defeated the Tulukkas (Muslims) restored worship in the temples and appointed chieftains and officers to supervise the arrangement. The Śriraṅgam temple situated close to Tiruvāṇaikka contains a number of inscriptions of Kumāra Kampaṇṇa which afford insight into his policy in the Tamil country. An inscription of Kumāra Kampaṇṇa states that the Goppaṇa consecrated the image of Raṅganatha Perumaḷ in the shrine and revived worship that had ceased for over 40 years.[49] Due to the close proximity between the two temples it is likely that Kumara Kampaṇṇa made benefactions of Tiruvāṇaikka temple though there is no epigraph of this ruler in this temple and possibly lost during renovationsand repairs. The iconoclastic vandalism and the plundering raids of the Muslims prompted the early Vijayanagara kings to follow the Muslim, drive them out or suppress them and then restoring the worship in all the temples affected. It is no wonder that richer temples like Śriraṅgam were more affected. The temple at Tiruvāṇaikka might have been affected though to a lesser extent.

The reign of Devaraya II was marked by incessant conflict between Iḍangai and Velaṅgai communities and the Kaṇiyaḷar Nayakas and Pradhanis appointed by the Vijayanagara rulers.[51] In order to appease the peasant population Devaraya II issued an order in 1427 A.D. covering a number of temples in Chandragirirajyam, Paḍaividurajyam and Tiruchirappaḷḷi-uśavadi.[52] The copies of this inscription have been found both in Jayaingondacholamandalam and Cholamaṇḍalam. A copy of this inscription was also incised in the Tiruvanikka temple. The inscription states that all the taxes except Vibhuti kaṇikkai due to the state was remitted as the request of Srimaheśvaras of the temple by the king. The term Vibhutikkaṇikai means contribution towards the prosperity of the king.[53]

An epigraph[54] (1519 A.D.) of Krishnadevaraya records the gift of one Veli of land in Vadavur Rajagambhira Vaḷanaḍu for the purpose of worship and offerings by Timappa Nayaka. The inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya mention the remission of 10,000 varaha of gold from the Jodi and Sulavari taxes from Śiva and Vishṇu temples.[52] Nearly 77 temples were benefitted by this remission and were distributed in the Tiruchy and Tañjavur districts. The Jambukeśvaram temple at Tiruvaṇaikka was also a beneficiary of this remission.

GARDENS :

The facts about the cultivated tracts including garden as gleaned from epigraphs of this temple afford an interesting study. Like the cultivable lands, gardens were also important for the temple as they were of great economic value to the temple. Gardens supplied flowers, fruits and leaves for the daily requirements of the temple and inscriptions refer to the gardens of the temple which supplied flowers to the deity.

One inscription[55] of Hoysala dynasty and three inscriptions[56] of the Pandyas give details of transaction in which the lands belonging to the temple were sold to individuals for maintaining gardens to provide for the unfailing supply of flowers and garlands. One of these inscriptions[57] refers to the creation of a water course to ensure the supply of probably, water borne flowers such as lotus, lily and the other inscriptions refer to the tending of actual garden lands (Vide discussion above regarding more details).

IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF LANDS :

The temple authorities seem to have taken great interest in the extension of irrigation facilities for the devadana lands. Irrigation was made by the use of river water from the Kaveri stored in tanks and by means of wells. Channels from the kaveri led to water the devadana lands and thus greatly improved the irrigation potentialities in and around Tiruvaṇaikka. Epigraphs reveal the endowments made by the individuals to

facilitate the irrigation system, which in turn led to increase in the produce of lands which were used to finance temple rituals. Large number of canals, channels, rivers and lakes are referred to in the epigraphs of the temple. The pattern of irrigation seems to have been based on the availability of water from the Kaveri river for the pasaṇam crop and from stored water for kar season crop. The epigraphs[58] refer to Piḷḷaikolli canal, Agai canal, Śembiyaṉ Madevivati, Kulamaṇikka vaykkal. And whenever any land was donated or endowed it was a custom to include river, river bed, wells etc., with the lands sold, to provide for irrigation. An epigraph of Maravarman Kulasekhara I[59] while denoting the boundaries of the land sold by the temple, clearly specifies a canal which irrigates a garden by name Śilandiyai Choḷaṉakkiṉaṉ Tirutoppu.

The Tiruvaṉaikka temple situated on the water spread of the river Kaveri, faced constant threat of flooding and erosion which often led to the extinction of settlement of devadana lands (Urnattamkollai Puḷakkaḍai) leading to fresh initiative from the side of the temple to resuscitate the settlements and agriculture. An important strategy in this regard was the construction of the flood control measures and reclamation of flooded lands by the temple authorities. An important epigraph from Śriraṅgam temple illustrates the steps taken by the temple to safeguard its riverside agricultural areas. The inscription, a copy of which may also have been inscribed on the walls of the Tiruvaṉaikka temple, refers to 47th year of Kulottuṅga III, the flood water of the Kaveri entered the Tirumaḍaiviḷagam Alagiya Maṇavala Perumaḷ and Jambukeśvaram temples. Due to this the boundary stones of the concerned land owning institutions got dislocated and the peasants working in the ur deserted the village. Upon the submission by the tanattars of the three temples, Gaṅgeyarayan and the assembly consisting of the Sabhai, the ur kaṇakku and the Araṇmaṇaikkaṇakku were summoned and the boundaries of the three devadana villages were demarcated by means of stones bearing the emblem of the two deities (Vishnu and Siva). As a measure to protect from further flooding of devadana lands four irrigation channels were cut from the river Kaveri and it was decreed that people inhabiting the ur could utilise the waters for the purpose of irrigation of their fields. The inscription[60] sheds indirect light on the role played by the temple in the reclamation of lands and the measures taken to protect them from floods. The Śriraṅgam temple where the epigraph cited is recorded was the beneficiary of a piece of land which abutted the Tiruvaṇaikka temple showing that the arbitrator Gaṅgeyarayan sought to preserve the homogenity of the flood control measures introduced.

There are not too many inscriptions in the Tiruvaṇaikka temple dealing with the instances of reclamation of fallow lands. The Tiruvanaikka temple in the reign of Kulottuṅga I sold 4-3/4 veli of the temple land for a sum of 4, 1/20, 1/80 kaśu to Villavarayaṉ. The sale deed of this transaction specifies that Villavarayaṉ bought the silted land which was lying uncultivated and instituted puñjai cultivation in it. In return he undertook to supply 23 kalam, 2 tuṇi and one kuruṇi of paddy every year in two equal instalments per season (kar and paśanam) at the rate of five Kalams per veli) to

the temple in order to maintain the Idaṅgai nāyanār shrine consecrated by him. This inscription[61] suggests that the sale of temple lands to private individuals was motivated by the desire to extend cultivation in the hinterland on the north beyond Tiruvaṇaikka and to derive the maximum benefit out of them.

In an inscription[62] issued during the reign of Kulottunga III an individual Avuruḍaiyaṇsolakkoṇ bought the fallow land lying on the banks of the river Kaveri and undertook to institute dry cultivation in the reclaimed land which was donated to the maṭha affliated to the temple. The land measuring 12 veli was declared as madapura-iṛaivili.

An other epigraph[63] refers to the instance of flood in the Kāvēri causing extensive breaches to the bunds and consequent flooding and silting up of wet lands in the neighbouring villages, such as Kaṇṇanur, Narasingamaṅgaḷam, Seṅgavur and Ottanur. The breaches were repaired in the 25th year of Someśvara and the lands were reclaimed. Thus, silted lands were brought under cultivation.

JEWELS AND ORNAMENTS :

By far the maximum contribution to the temple was in the form of land set apart as devadana which should have formed the substantial basis for the functioning of the economy. The next important valuable contribution was in the form of jewels and ornaments. There is only one inscription; but it gives a long list of jewels whose value cannot be completed easily. This inscription[64] dated in the 4th regnal year of Maravarman Sundara Paṇḍya I seems to record the donation of several jewels set mostly with numerous pearls by the king himself from his capital at Madurai. The record begins with a modest list of silk clothes, discribed as Pachchaippattu, Puliyukirpumpaṭṭu, senthilaṇippaṭṭu and araiyaṇ devaṅgu. The last term mentioned recalls to our mind the name of a community (devaṅgas) which has survived even to-day in different parts of South India as expert weavers of special brand of clothes Senthilanippaṭṭu is said to have been woven with borders or frills coloured intermittently with white, black and green. This is followed by a big jewel which was set with four lakh fifteen thousand eight hundred and three pearls in addition to several other parts of the ornament such as nayakappadmam (probably an important pendant), Kadirpu, vaṭṭappu etc. sheets of different sizes and weights to cover the different parts of the body of the deity like forehead, breast, waist feet etc. weighing three hundred and seventeen and odd Kalañju and also a pearl canopy etc. The inscription is incomplete. It is but natural that the Paṇḍya king endowed more pearls for the production of which his country was famous in the world over. This huge gift is comparable only to that which was made by Jatavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I to the Śrīraṅgam temple after the performance of tulabhara. Though this is the only record available to us, it is not improbably that the temple might have received till larger amounts from the several dignatories who might have visited the temple. This type of endowment might not have increased the liquid asserts of the temple unless there are confirmed to have been converted into interest bearing cash about which however we

have no information. Of course the satisfaction of adorning the deity both for the donor and the temple authorities and equally the devotees might have meant much without improving the economy of the temple in any way. Much lessor amount of jewels donated by Somaladevi in 1260 A.D.[65] and Saluva Tirumalairaja in 1453 A.D.[66] had been received by the temple.

FESTIVALS:

As an important Saivite shrine located in the fertile tract of the Kāvēri basin, the temple attracted people from far and wide. In this temple many festivals were celebrated, services instituted and processions organised on a lavish scale, which were met by the numerous resources that poured into the temple. Kings, queens, officials and others vied with one another in making numerous donations to the temple either for burning perpetual lamps or for instituting special services in the temple, for feeding the brahmins or for celebrating the festivals. Services were instituted in the name of the king such as Sundara Pāṇḍyan Sandhi[67] and Śeraṇai Veṉran tiruṇal[68]. During the Vijayanagara period there were special festivals such as the second day celebration of the annual festival[69] and procession on the Vijayadasami day in which the deity was taken out in procession.[70]

In all the services and festivals as stated above, numerous kinds of commodities and vegetables were used. As the temple owned large chunks of land it received paddy. As a famous centre of worship the temple required a variety of commodities and services for its day to day services as well as on special festive occasions. The temple was the biggest consumer of the local produce, next only to the larger Śrīrangam temple. In the later stages, with expansion of its ritual and calendar of festivals it consumed more and more articles. The increase in the number of donations to the temple also led to a corresponding increase in the number of services and rituals there.[71] The temple consumed rice, ghee, banana fruit, firewood, mustard, betel leaf, betel nuts or arecanuts, camphor, pepper, oil, salt, sandal paste etc. Dishes such as rice cake, vegetables, condiments, sweets were also offered.[72] All these were distributed among the devotees as well as among the personnel of the temple.[73] During the reign of Krishnadēvarāya a gift of 12 veli of land in 3 villages to the temple were made for the daily requirements of worship to the gods and goddess.[74] Verily during the Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara period, the temple became a big consumer.

The demand on the land by people growing in number prompted the authorities of the temple to distribute the temple lands otherwise lying unutilised on sale-cum-lease terms leading to intense economic activities employing a greater amount of labour at all stages of the services.

Thus from the foregoing account we can make out, the temple filled a large place in the social and economic life of the people. Thanks to the munificient donations and rich gifts, in the later Chōla and Hoysaḷa period, the temple reached a point of glory in the Vijayanagara and Nayaka period. It also patronised the learned and cultured. As a

religious institution it also provided employment to many people, who performed various services in the temple and thereby played a positive and constructive role for the betterment of the society as a whole.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES :

An analysis of the inscriptions reveal that various types of weights and measures were in vogue. Land measures such as veli, kaṇi, Ma, kuḷi, chinnam (fraction) etc., are all found in the Tiruvaṇaikka epigraphs. These were of course prevalent in other parts of Choḷamaṇḍalam as well. In the transactions listed in the table given above (p.153) the total extent of land in the village according to the register, the extent of land after excluding land occupied by the habitation sites, temples and attached pieces of lands available for sale and the extent of lands sold by individuals are given separately enabling us totally the figures as below. These figures pertain to Kilarrur alias Rajarajan Kurrrangudi as given in numbers 32 to 36 of 1938.

	Veli	Ma	Kani	Mundtrikai	Kilma	Kani
1.Total extent of land in the village	36	6	2	-	5	
2.Land out of item 2 belonging to each doner 32 of 1938	4	8	-	2	3	2
" 33 of 1938 - 75	5	12	3	2	2	2
" 34 of 1938	1	4	1		[4]	
" 35 of 1938	5	2	3	2	3	
" 36 of 1938	5	8	2		12	
3.Total extent of land available for sale and actually sold accroding to the inscription.	21	16	2	3	5	

This bears out the accuracy with which the lands were measured and accounted. It is very interesting to note from an epigraph[76] that there was a linear measure (alavu-kol) for measuring the wet lands of Tiruvaṇaikka. The length is indicated by two (plus) marks at either end and it measures about 4 feet.

The same characteristic marks the liquid and grain measures used in different places, and numerous kinds of naḷi, find mention in the inscriptions. To measure out paddy and other grains units such as kalam, tuṇi, kuruṇi, etc.. were used.[77] The temple had its own measure called Tiruveṇṇavaldevan,[78] probably to avoid confusion. This measure was used in the later Choḷa period and contributions in paddy were measured with this mean. But we do not know whether this was in vogue in the earliest period. We find the continuance of this measure after the Choḷas and an inscription of Vijayanagara period mention the same measure. Every temple had its own measures, Adavallan measure for Brihadeśvara temple, Vedavana nayagan measure for Vedaraṇeśvara

temple to cite a few. Besides this a unit called marakkal was called Rajakesari to be used for measures in the temple.[79] But unfortunately we do not know the exact relation between the temple measure, Tiruvennaval (devan) and Rajakesari. It would seem, however that better success attended the effort to standardise liquid and grain measure in other directions. At any rate the difference appears to be not very much. Perhaps one might be used to measure out liquid measures such as ghee, oil etc., while the others might have been used for measuring grain and corn.

As the temple had large deposits of gold, silver and pearls they had also different measures. Alloy, lead, copper were weighted in terms of weights called 'stones' (kal) such as palam and kahsu. But we do not know whether the same measures have been used to measure preciousstones pearls, silver and gold. But the standard measures, such as kalañju, mañjadi and kunri were used to express quantities of gold and silver[80]

COINS :

The inscription of the temple furnish us with interesting information regarding the coins that were current at various times. Kaśu was the standard unit prevalant in the early Chola period.[81] The same unit continued even in the later periods, kalañju was also employed in recording payments by weight,[82] there are epigraphs which mention the pon[83] and equate it to the kalañju implying thereby that the pen was coined gold of the full weight of one kalañju. An epigraph[84] of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, refers to the sale of land for 400 panam which coinage was also in circulation. Both pen and panam were in use even as late as in Vijayanagara period. In the reign of the Chola king, Rajaraja III and Rajendra III anradunarkaśu (good current coin) and Kaśu were in circulation[85] But in the Pandya period kaśu alone is mentioned[86] and in the Vijayanagara days, the coins which were current were panam and varahan[87] The latter was a gold coin of the average standard weight of 52.7 grams.

Thus from the Tiruvanaikka epigraphs, we learn various weights and measures were in use, as they were in other parts of Cholamandalam. They enable us to understand the prevailing trend but there were fluctuation from time to time. Perhaps the high standard was not maintained at all times in the actual currency, and there were departure from the standard and purity at different times and places.

TAXES :

The Chola economy was essentially agrarian in character, with trade and industrial crafts, operating within the limits of an agrarian economy. Land was the mainstay of the medieval agrarian economy. The proliferation of Brahmadeyas in the later period, created an awareness of the importance of land, as an important economic unit. Naturally land tax an important source of income for the state.

All the tax terms that occur in the epigraphs of Tiruvanaikka temple more or less conform to the general Chola tax system. There are not many Chola inscriptions at Tiruvanaikka which give the list of taxes. They generally stop with the mention of antarayam and pattam which are local taxes.[88] An inscription[89] of Rajaraja III dated in the 24th year (= 1240 A.D.) refers to a peculiar case of the collection of taxes with arrears from the first owner of land who sold it to another who in turn did not pay the dues on the land. The first owner was Vellan Sendan of Kattur and the second owner was Edirmalaiudaiyan Vadavayil Nambi alias Manrachchappallavarayan. Besides the normally levied taxes such as kadamai, kudimai etc., the inscription refers to the collection of Makkalam i.e. one kalam of paddy per ma which was computed in cash value viniyogam i.e. largess, interest charged on amount due to long time (polisaittundam) and allowance (padikkasu) to be paid to the Kannadiyar who came to collect these taxes. The tax makkalam is said to have been collected in this case for payment to Bhogayya dandanayaka a general of the Hoysalas. This is no doubt an extra burden on the people on account of the Hoysala presence in Tamilnadu to support the weak central power.

The Chola epigraphs of Tiruvanaikka refer to the granting of exemptions of taxes, such as antarayam, Pattam, etc., on devadana iraiyili.

The Pandya kings, who succeeded the Cholas also exempted numerous taxes on some temple lands, some of which were kadamai,antarayam,achchv, kariya,varaichchi, vettipattam, vasalaperu, illachchanaiperu, tari, irai, idaiyar vari, ponvari, kaveri-k-karaitevi[90] etc., which unmistakably reveals the fact, that these taxes were levied on other lands of the temple. The tax Kaverikkarai tevai, again denotes a new tax, on those lands which lay on the banks of Kaveri levied in order to meet the threat of Kaveri flood, or to construct the sluice, or to strengthen the banks. The tax levied on those lands and which were given in terms of paddy to the temple was also exempted. All these taxes were exempted only on those lands, which were donated for some service or other in thetemple. It should however be noted that only those lands, which were utilised for the services of the temple alone were exempted and it seems the other lands were not so exempted.

The Hoysala kings in this region, also exempted several taxes on some lands. We come across such as kudimaikasu, kanam, kartigaippachchai, adikarapperu, ayavargam, sabha vinoyogam[91] relating to some lands which were donated to the matha. All these and other taxes on the other lands of the temple were not exempted. In one instance there is a reference of remission of taxes on the 32 veli of devadana lands belonging to the temple and their consequent conversion into tirunamattakkani land for the consideration of lumpsum of 110,000 kasu.[92] Sometimes exemptions were made after receiving a bulk sum of free the lands from all the encumbrances. A record[93] gives the details of income in paddy from different kinds of lands endowed as devadana which shows how perfectly the revenue accounts were kept. An epigraph[94] mentions in the post script the tax to be paid to the temple (koil Kadamai).

The revenue administration and system of taxation[95] in the Tamil provinces by Hoysaḷas did not differ much from those of the Choḷas and Pannḍyas.

An inscription[96] dated in 1427 A.D. in the reign of Devaraya II records the executive order (nirupam) issued by Śirupparasar at the instance of king himself. This order gives the details of the events leading to the same as follows.

The seṉaibovar (senabogas), the royal officials in charge of the collection of taxes had compelled by troubling (upattiravam) the temple authorities (sthanattars) to pay the taxes like amudu, salaigaḷ, joḍi, kanaikkai, akkasalaikal, veṭṭi, vegaḷi, kaḍi veṭṭu and amañji. On account of this, the citizens (kuḍivan) could not perform their duties and the daily worship to the deities also were stopped. This state of affairs was reported to the king by Paṇmaheśvarar and Marudavaṇaśivaṇ. They petitioned to the king that they may be permitted to spend the income left after the payment of vibhuti kanikkai payable to the government, towards the daily worship to the respective temples. The king approved and instructed Sirupparasar accordingly to get the order entered in the register (kaṇakku) and hand over the same to the sthaṇikar and maheśvarar.

The other two temples Tirumadukkam and [Ni]nra-maḷigai about which Tiripuradaśivaṇ and Piraisudśivaṇ informed the king are also mentioned.

The worship was required to be restored as in the times of Bhupati uḍaiyar (son and successor of Devaraya I) in 1422 A.D.

This account shows clearly how the government officials harassed the people and how the king on being informed by a few public spirited men took prompt steps to correct the situation. The taxes mentioned, though not many, sum to imply that there was an arbitary collection of taxes levied at random. The temple at Tiruvaṇaikka was one of the beneficiaries following this royal order.

Another inscription[97] dated in 1595 A.D. contains an order pertaining to the gift of income i.e. 47 poṉ out of tax collected from the valaikarar (fishermen) of KoṇḍaiyanPeṭṭai in Tiruvanaikka and from the owners (26familes) of workshops (paṭṭaḍai) as per the register of citizens and also from the new entrants. The tax includes the charges for supply of water to the workshops. This order also authorises these owners and the valaikarar to settle on the east of the northern street of the prakara called tiruniriṭṭaṉ tirumadil along with other castes including Chettis and other merchants and were required to continue to serve the temple.

This inscription containing the order of assignment of income binds the people paying these taxes now to the temple to the devotional atmosphere of the place.

The amount of taxes mentioned in this inscription was set apart for the worship of

Kaṅkaḷanatha set up by the Nayaka chief in the temple on one of the days during the Brahmotsava.

Thus many taxes were levied and collected, but occasionally some of temple lands were also exempted from paying all taxes. The officials under the Nayakas also were paid in terms of land and special levy collected from people such as adhikarajoḍi, adikari poṇ, rayasa varttanal,[98] pradhani joḍi etc., for their maintenance. This is but a continuation of the system already obtained under the Vijayanagara kings.

LAND PRICE :

An analysis of this temple epigraphs reveal the fact that land transactions constituted an important phase of the medieval South Indian Economy. Invariably most of the epigraphs mention about land transactions. This was so, because agriculture was the main occupation of the people, and the importance of landed asset was well realised.

In the earlier period,[99] the temple sold dry and uncultivated 4-3/4 veli of land for purchase money of 4 1/20 1/80 good kaśu. The higher price within 150 years between the times of Kulottuṅga I and Rajaraja III as mentioned below cannot be explained in any way except the unsettled political conditions of that time with consequent rise in prices all round. As a result of all these the temple came to acquire vast landed properties.

The following were the prices of land that were sold to the temple.

In 1229 A.D. one kaṇi (1/80 veli) of wet land was sold to 2,500 (kaśu).[100]

In 1241-42 A.D. 2ma (1/20 veli) and Muntrikai (1/320 veli) of wet land (17/320 veli) was sold to 2206 kaśu.[101]

In 1249 A.D. three veli of land was sold to16,500 kaśu.[102]

This trend continued even in the days of Hoysaḷas. An epigraph[103] belonging to Vira Ramanatha refers to the gift after purchase of 4 veli of land for 40,000 kaśu for food offerings and other services to the deity. A Paṇḍya epigraph[104] also refers to the sale of land by the temple measuring 2 ma of dry land for 20,000 kaśu.

Interestingly the same increase is also witnessed in Śrirangam, as two epigraphs of this temple referred to the gifts of lands by purchase, as the price of land 2-1/2 ma was 10,500 kaśu[105] and 3 veli for 30,000 kaśu respectively.[106] The 28 epigraphs of the Choḷa king Rajaraja III refer to the purchase of lands by Tiruvaṇaikka temple for heavy price. In other words the temple bought numerous lands from various individuals at great cost. The reasons behind this steep rise in prices have been analysed above (Vide p.163).

SUPERVISION OF TEMPLE LANDS:

The lands made over as gifts to the temple were usually managed and supervised by the temple authorities Mahesvaras and the Srikariyam seivar. A question obviously arises as to how the temple authorities could manage the agricultural operations in the lands distributed in so many villages? Both direct cultivation of temple lands by the agents of the temple and the system of leasing them to the tenants appears to have prevailed. In the first instance, the supervision was done by certain local agents appointed by the temple who took every precaution during the cultivation and the harvest and saw to it that after paying all the wages and other dues to the farmers the produce was brought to the temple.[107] The procedure was that paddy or any other harvested grain should be broughtto the precincts of the temple and measured by the measure, Rajakesari, as revealed by the inscriptions.[108] The insistence on the use of this measure for that purpose shows the precautionary measures adopted by the temple authorities to prevent any possible fraudulent activities.

In one case,[109] the temple found it uneconomical to maintain 36 and odd veli of land at Kavuṇiyankuḍai in Veṇṇikuṉṟam. On the appeal of the temple authorities an order was issued exempting the lands from all the taxes. The ratio of the share of the produce was fixed as 60 and 40 between the temple authorities and the tenant on every 100 kalam per veli. The 60 percent of the produce which would have gone to the state as kanikkadan would thus go to the temple, leaving the 40 percent to the cultivator. Since the lands were made tax-free the entire share of the owner was allowed to be retained by the temple. The arrangement was to be effected by all the three corporate groups of the temple.

1. The Mahesvaran
2. Srikariyam Seyvar
3. Sthanikars.

They were supposed to be the agents of the temple, and they usually figured in all the land transactions in which the temple involved. By and large, the devadana lands were manned and managed by these groups, which figure as recipients of endowments. An other temples also they figure as a group in the temple transactions. Not only they figured in land transactions, but also they figured as recipients of monetary gifts and payments.

These groups adminstered the temple lands in various ways. Their powers were extensive. They received and disposed the lands for the benefit of the temple. Co-ordinating with the temple accountant (koyilkaṇakku) they functioned in the land transactions and meticulously looked after every minute detail to prevent any miscarriage in the transactions.

The proceedings recorded in the inscription[110] of Devaraya II discussed above (Vide

page No.160) imply the active role played by Panmahesvarar and the few public spirited individuals like Marudavana Sivan, Tiripuradasivan and Piraisudisivan [11]. It is apparent that the administrative set up was left high and dry on account of the oppressive taxation by the officials of the Vijayanagar government. It is in this context that the general body of the Mahesvaras and the three individual who could not bear the sight of the cessation of worship stepped in and got the king interested in setting the affair aright. The general body of Mahesvaras had, even though they had no supervisory rights regarding the actual execution of the daily duties, certainly an indirect concern regarding the state of affairs now and then. This invests them with a real supervisory power over matters of policy.

REFERENCES

1. Burton Stein, Economic functions of a medieval Temple, The Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol.19 (1960).
2. Ibid., Coromondel Brahmadeya, Pesant State and Society in medieval South India (hereafter PSSMSI) PP. 141-72.
3. Ibid., Merchants and Scholars ed., David Parkinson-Integration of Agrarian System, pp.175-212.
4. Ibid., The Chola State and Agrarian Order. Historiographical Critigue, Essays on South India, ed. ed., Burton Stein, 1977.
5. Y. subbarayalu, political Geography of the Chola Country Department of Archaeology, Madras, pp. 19-44.
6. Ibid., place of ur in the social and economic history of medical Tamilnadu, Rangavalli, S.R. Rao Felicitation Volume, 1983.
7. Burton Stein, peasant Micro region - The Nadu, PSSMSI., pp. 90-140.
8. Ibid., Coromandel Trade in Medieval South India Merchants and Scholars, ed., David Parkinson.
9. Ibid., The transition to Supra local integration in the 12th and 13th centuries, PSSMSI., pp. 216-53.
10. Ibid., Cambridge Economic History of India, ed., Ifran Habib.
11. Cf. The case of Tiruvidaimarudur Where more than about 150 inscriptions were lost completely in 1908 before which the Department of Epigraphy has luckily copied all the inscriptions. Their disappearance is attributed to the zealous but reckless renovation carried out by Nattukkottai Chettiyars.
12. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 8-10.

i3. Burton stein, The Chola State and the Agrarian Order PSSMSI, pp. 254-365.

14. SII., Vol.II, No.66, p.288, Line 204; p.265, line 11.
15. ARSIE., 1937, Nos. 115.
16. Ibid., 1938, No.27.
17. Ibid., 1937, Nos. 115 and 116.
18. Ibid., No.120.

19. Ibid., 1938, No.21.

20. Ibid., 1891, No.31; SII., Vol.III, No.76.

21. ARSIE., 1908, Nos. 486 and 487.

22. Ibid., 1937, Nos. 108 and 110.

23. Ibid., 1938, Nos. 32 to 37.

24. Ibid., 1903, No.61; 1905 Nos.499 to 507; 1938, No.31.

25. Ibid., 1903, No.63.

26. Ibid., 1938, No.27 and 29.

27. Ibid., 1903, No.62; 1908, No.484.

28. Ibid., 1938, No.31.

29. Ibid., 1937, Nos. 115 to 117.

30. K.A.N. Sastri, The Cōḷas (1937) Vol.II (Part I), p.175.

31. Ibid., P.189.

32. SII., Vol.VIII, No.151.

33. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 13, 31 and 32.

34. Ibid., 1937, No.119.

35. ARSIE., 1937, No.118.

36. Ibid., 1938, Nos. 5 and 6.

37. Ibid., 1891, No.22; SII., Vol.IV, No.423.

38. ARSIE., 1937, Nos. 121 and 120.

39. Ibid., 1891, No.18.

40. Ibid., Nos. 27 and 28.

41. Ibid., 1938, Nos. 12, 25 and 26; Ibid., 1937, No.125; Ibid., 1910, No.92; Ibid., 1891, No.21.

42. Ibid.,1938, No.21.

43. Ibid., 1938, No.30.

44. Ibid., 1891, No.32.

45. Ibid., 1938, No.28.

46. Ibid., 1891, No.24.

47. Ibid., 1938, No.77.

48. _Ibid_., 1891, No.25.

49. _SII_., Vol.24, Intro. pp. XIV-XV.

50. Possibly the numerous multilated images lying collected with the second _prakara_ and outside the temple near south mottai gopuram stand witness to this campaign of destruction.

51. _Social Conflict in Tamilnadu in the 15th century A.D_. pp.133-160 - N. Karishima and Y. Subbarayalu.

52. _ARSIE_., 1937, No.113.

53. Interpreted as presents on account of prosperity in _Social Cultrual Change in Villages in Trichinopoly District_, Part I, Ed. No. Karashima, March, 1983, Appendix - p.156, f.n. 32.

54. _ARSIE_., 1937, No.107.

55. _Ibid_., 1908, No.484.

56. _Ibid_., 1938, No.30; 1891, No.32; 1891 No.25.

57. _Ibid_., 1891, No.32.

58. _Ibid_., No.31; ARSIE., 1937, No.108.

59. _Ibid_., No.25.

60. _SII_., Vol.24, No.142.

61. _ARSIE_., 1891, No.31.

62. _Ibid_., 1908, No.486.

63. _Ibid_., 1937, No.122.

64. _Ibid_., 1938, No.3.

65. _Ibid_., 1891, No.22.

66. _Ibid_., 1903, No.67.

67. _Ibid_., 1938, No.21.

68. _Ibid_., No.28.

69. _Ibid_., 1937, No.107.

70. _Ibid_., 1891, No.30.

71. S.Swaminathan, _Economic aspects of the Tiruvorriyur Templa Rituals_, Unpublished paper.

72. _ARSIE_., 1938, No.25, 1937, No.118.

73. _Ibid_., 1903, No.66; 1891 No.30.

74. _Ibid_., 1937, No.105.

75. There is a lacuna in the text which is filled upon the basis of the total given in numerals.

76. ARSIE., 1937, No.133.

77. Ibid., 1937, No.120.

78. Ibid., 1938, No.25.

79. Ibid., 1891, No.31.

80. Ibid., 1938, No.3.

81. Ibid., 1938, No.9.

82. Ibid., No.25.

83. Ibid., 1937, No.107.

84. Ibid., 1891, No.32.

85. Ibid., 1937, No.108, 1938, No.29.

86. Ibid., 1938, No.30.

87. Ibid., No.1937, No.104 and 105.

88. ARSIE., 1937, Nos. 114, 115 and 117.

89. ARSIE., 1905, No.507.

90. Ibid., 1938, No.28.

91. Ibid., 1891, No.21.

92. Ibid., 1937, No.119.

93. Ibid., No.124.

94. Ibid., 1891, No.28.

95. K.R.Venkataraman, Hoysalas in the Tamil Country P.56.

96. ARSIE., 1937, No.113.

97. Ibid., No.136.

98. Ibid., Part II, Page 82, p.56.

99. Ibid., 1891, No.31.

100. Ibid., 1937, No.110.

101. Ibid., 1905, No.501.

102. Ibid., 1938, No.29.

103. Ibid., 1891, No.26.

104. Ibid., No.25.

105. SII., Vol.XXIV, No.152.

106. Ibid., No.153.

107. K.V.Raman, Śrīvaradarājasvami Temple - Kañchi, p.140.

108. ARSIE., 1891, No.31; SII., Vol. 3, No.76.

109. Ibid., 1937, No.114.

110. Ibid., 1937, No.113.

111. Their names be-speak well of their devotion on the basis of the suffix Śivaṉ.

CHAPTER V
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION

On account of the paucity of the inscriptions prior to the period of the early Cho̱ḷas who were Śaivites by inclination, we are not able to get much information about the administration of this temple before the rise of the early Choḷas, under Vijayalaya. Even during this period of rule from Vijylalaya's time we do not get direct information. What little is available is put forth here in a connected way as far as possible.

One fragment[1] of inscription assignable to the period of the Cho̱ḷas between Parantaka I (907-953 A.D.) and Rajaraja I (985-1014 A.D.) speaks of an endowment for the supply of oil for lamp being entrusted into the hands of the assembly (sabhaiyar) of Tiruvaṇaikka. It is not improbable that the sabhaiyar of this village which was a settlement of Vedic scholars were involved in the administration of this temple by taking care of such endowments which sometimes may fall under the duties of temple authorities. Another fragmentary inscription[2] which may be assigned to the time of Rajaraja I also speaks of gold received from the deity by the sabhaiyar evidently as an endowment almost similar in all respects to the previous one. One other fragment[3] of this group deals with an endowment of land involving the sabhaiyar. Though it may be difficult to say that the sabhaiyar were exercising direct control ever the temple, we will not be far wrong if we say that the sabhaiyar as a powerful local administrative agency were involved in all the transactions in which such economic entities as gold, land and what not were used to provide for expenditure in the temple. We may invoke the aid of parallel instances of such cases as we find in Sucindram[4], Tiruvidaimarudil[5] etc. in support of this instance of powerful local administrative bodies who had a fair share of administration of the temples. Even otherwise we may infer that the economic aspect of these endowments cannot be considered without bringing in the role of these powerful local bodies, till a separate set up of administration of the temples took time to evolve on account of later massive economic activities in the light of growing endowments.

Unfortunately we do not have in inscription assignable to the time between those of Rajaraja I (985-1014 A.D.) upto Kulottuṅga I (acc. 1070 A.D.) even though this period represents a glorious epoch under the Choḷas and they might have taken equal interest in this temple. An inscription of Sundara Choḷa Parantaka II dated in 961 A.D. refers to the meeting of Peruṅguri Sabha of Uttamasili Chaturvedimaṅgalam at the Tiruvaṇaikka temple and discussed land endowments made to another temple at Tiruppalatturai of Uttamasili Chaturvedimaṅgalam. This epigraph unmistakably reveals the fact that in the early Choḷa period the temple served as rendezvous of the various administrative bodies of the locality and it also indirectly mentions the already existing administrative set up of the temple which manned and supervised such proceedings in the temple premises.[6] Besides an evidence of a dancing woman of the

temple (by name Nakkan Tiruvennaval)[7] and a singer of hymns of this temple by name Tiruvenaval Sempor Chotiyan Dakshinameruvtitankappichchan alias Ñanaśivan[8] were drafted for service in the Rajarajeśvara temple at Tañjavur in the reign of Rajaraja I affords an indirect clue that this temple was prosperous enough to have the services of such a type which will be a luxury in the case of smaller temples.

We now pass on to the time of Kulottunga I (acc. 1070 A.D.). The development in respect of temple administration has gone along the same lines as we see it elsewhere. The excellent depiction of Chandeśanugrahamurti in a sculpture in the big temple at Tañjavur in the times of Rajaraja I heralded the absorption of Chandeśvara into the idolised pantheon leading to initiate all transactions in his name. He is described as mulabhritya, the original or the foremost servant of Lord Śiva. The record detailing the transactions in the inscription[9] of Kulottunga I dated in his 47th regnal year (i.e. 1117 A.D.) is described as an order of Channdeśvara defined as the foremost servant (mulabhritya) of the Lord of the three worlds (tribhuvanapati) i.e. Śiva. It is therefore seen that the popularity of Chandeśvara episode has raised him to the position of a comptroller of the palace of god. The expression nam signifying Chandeśvara himself indicate the nature of the order. But it is easy to presume that transactions were effected only by the human agencies in the name of the deity. The kanmigal i.e. the executives of the temple sign at the end of the document as "nimantam seytu kotuttom ... ... tiruvanaikkaudaiya emberumanukku mulabhrityanakiya Chandesan ullitta kanmigalom". This statement made in the first person implies that there were the well known devar kanmigal through the other inscriptions of the time were also functioning in this temple. This term kanmigal is generally used in an expanded manner in the inscriptions of other Śiva temples, earlier or later, as patipada maulappattudai pañchacharya devakanmigal which we come across in inscription[10] of Rajendra III of this temple.

The first reference to a matha immediately outside the precincts of this temple is available in the record[11] of Kulottunga III. The matha was called Narpettenayiravan madam and it belonged to the lineage of the ascetics of Tiruñanasambandan madam adjacent to the shrine of the goddess of Tiruchattimurram. Provision was made for feeding the ascetics and also for the recitation of the agamas. The fact that a matha has started functioning very near the temple could not be unconnected with the administration of the temple where, as in the case of every other Śiva shrine the Panmaheśvaras including the ascetics of the matha might have had a say in the affairs of the temple. However we do not have details of their exact role.

The inscription dated in the 13th year of Rajaraja III (= 1229 A.D.) refers to the group called Adichandeśvara kanmigal to whom land was sold. This shows that the set up described above continued to be functioning. The amount of 26,645 kaśu given as price of the land by the executives [13] indicates the financial power bestowed in them.

A number of inscriptions of Rajaraja III's reign contain similar details of sale of land

by many individuals to the temple. All these continue to present the same situation as described above. One inscription[14] of this being dated in 20th year (1235-36 A.D.) contains the draft of an undertaking given by 18 persons to take up their residence at Tiruvaṇakka and guard the western entrance both during day and night and collect in return 180 kalams of paddy per year as fee. This undertaking was given to the group called adichaṇḍeśvaradevarkaṇmigaḷ.

We get more details of this set up in the reign of Rajendra III (1246-79 A.D.) An inscription[15] of this king recording the exemption from tax on the land belonging to this temple is drafted in the form of an order signed by royal officials and addressed to devarkaṇmi, maheśvarakaṇkaṇiseyvar and Śrikaryamseyvar. This points to a three tiered set up ; (1) The temple officials including the worshipping priest, cook, helper, etc., called collectively as devarkanmi; (2) The worshipping laity represented by maheśvaras i.e. Śaiva devotees and the leaders (kaṇkaṇiseyvar) among them, (3) the last but not the least important functionary called Śrikaryamseyvar who was obviously an officer in charge of the entire administration. The details about this set up cannot be taken as indicating a sudden development. We get here an informative document pointing to the real position in the administrative set up. For closely following this, we find records[16] again referring to the entire group collectively called adichaṇḍeśvaradevarkaṇmigaḷ.

The Hoysaḷa inscriptions of this temple ranging from the second year of Hoysaḷa Vira-Someśvara (= 1235 A.D.) to the fourteenth year of Hoysaḷa Vira-Ramanatha (= 1269 A.D.) give us some more important details about the system of administration of this temple.Most of the Hoysaḷa inscriptions in the reign of Vira-Someśvara contain pointed references to the four shrine Vallaḷiśvaram, Padumaliśvaram, Vira Narasiṇgeśvaram and Someliśvaram inside the temple complex and Posaliśvaram at Kaṇṇanur alias Vikramapuram, the capital of Hoysaḷa dominions in Tamilnadu. The orders in these inscriptions are generally addressed to a group called taṇattar of the temple. The composition of this body can be gleaned from the signatories representing this taṇattar who were a party to the transaction recorded in the inscription[18] dated 1255 A.D. The designation of the signatory are koyilakaṇakku, koyidevarkaṇmi, pujikkumnambi porpaṇḍari(officer in charge of goldtreasury) and the maheśvaras described as kumbiṭṭirukkum (i.e., worshipping or bowing before the deity).

Another inscription[19] adds to this list the designations tirumeykappar and also tiruvilaichchiṇaikkaṇkaṇi i.e., the supervisor in control of the seal of the temple. The designations are self explanatory in respect of their duties and responsibilities. This is certainly a development in commensurate with the growing transactions in the temple from the early simpler set up of administration associating the local sabhaiyar.

The Paṇḍya inscriptions in this temple do not yield more information on this than the Choḷa-Hoysaḷa inscriptions. One may therefore presume that the same set up of administration that was prevalent during the times of Choḷas and Hoysaḷas continued

also in the reign of the Pāṇḍya kings.

An inscription of Devaraya II dated in 1427 A.D.[20] describes the condition to which the temples in the area were reduced on account of the oppressive policy of the officials of the Vijayanagara government and that the maheśvaras of these temples including those of this temple petitioned to the king that the entire worship in these temples including Tiruvaṇaikka may be restored as it obtained in the days of Bhupati-uḍaiyar. The inscription goes on to say that their request was granted and orders to that effect were passed. This reveals the role of Paṇmaheśvaras representing all the devotees.

With the passage of another half a century, we are fed with a small but no less important piece of information important in so far as this temple is coneerned. An inscription[21] dated Śaka 1392 (= 1470 A.D.) in the reign of Prauḍhadeva-Maharaja, son of Mallikarjunadeva Maharaya records a sale by public auction of a house-site and the accountancy right by nalukkoṭtu-taṇattar in the temple of Tiruvaṇaikka-uḍaiya-Nayanar for 400 Vira-Champaṇkuḷigai to Perumbarkilaṇ Pagavaṇar Aṇḍaperumaḷ of Kai [ta] vanallur in Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam. The hereditary office of accountant (Koṭṭu-kaṇakku) had been hitherto in the enjoyment of seller, which they now sold away with its perquisites in the shape of clothes, salary (ilakkai), food, cakes, betel leaves and arecanuts (due during the chanting) of Tirujñāṇam, aṭṭaippaḍi, mugamparvai, etc., to Āṇḍaperumaḷ mentioned above. Though the reasons for this sale are not set out, the sale by itself is significant. The right of accountancy which was exercised hereditarily was sold to a person far away from Tiruvaṇakka. The fact that the right was alienated, indicates that there was no bar in transferring the rights and accordingly the duties also to any person under the circumstances. But when this is considered in the light of a possibility of the absence of a local lobby who retains such functions, it leads us to surmise that conditions were not so propitious as to presume a smooth administration.

As if to extend this argument, we get some information on yet another appointment of a person not belonging to the hereditary positions of authority, after a long gap of more than a century. The inscription[22] which does not refer to any reign but bears the date Śaka 1506 (= 1585 A.D.) contains an edict given by the servants of the deity who have signed the document at the end. They were Iḷaiya Eṉṉaṇaikkaṉṟu-Paṇḍitaṉ, Ariyayanambi and Tiruveṇṇaval Bhaṭṭan. Their names point to their being the worshipping priest in the temple. Eṉṉaṇaikkaṉṟu Velaṉ, Koyil kaṇakku Kuttapperumaḷ and Koṭṭukaṇakku Aṟappaḷḷinathan and Śri Mayasuramudalvan ... ... also sign the record. While the official status of the first, an agriculturist bearing the dignified title Veḷan, is not known, the status of the next two is clear. One is an accountant for the temple and the other is an accountant in respect of the main groups of temple servants. The last mentioned person was the head of the devotees of the temple. All these persons might have constituted the body called taṇattar, though not mentioned in the record. They are designated as Jambupateṇ bhrityanarga. The

inscription is further introduced as a tirumugam i.e., an order addressed to (our i.e. the deity's) devotee (bhakṭa) by Adi-Channḍeśvara, the foremost servant of Tribhuvanapati (i.e. Śiva seated pleasantly under the shade of the Jambu tree in the temple).

This order states in the preamble that the worshipof the deity including the enquiry, maintenance of account the exercise of authority (muddirai), the apportionment of previleges according to turns (muṟaiSuvandiram) and the Paśupata vratam was conducted hereditarily through the disciples and proceeds to justify the selection of Chandrasekhara guru-uḍaiyar for that high office to be conducted hereditarily through son, grandson, etc., by quoting profusely from different Śaiva texts. He was required to follow the Grihasta Paśupatam and also perform sacrifices (not pañca-mahayajña) and other duties etc. The inscription continues to say that Chandrasekhara Guru Uḍaiyar should arrange to see that only the eldest and the most learned in the family is appointed to preside over this establishment (adhiṭhanam) . The inscription ends with the imprecations and the signatures.

It is clear that the temple officials had made this arrangement and got the order couched in the usual format. We have already discussed above the convention of presenting all administrative orders in the name of Chandesvara.[23] The expression "nam tambiranar ararchaṇai" put in the mouth of Chaṇḍeśvara means the worship of ourLord (and not the Sanyasi). We do not know when this pasupata association with the worship in the temple was introduced though the inscription says it was being conducted hereditarily through disciples. Without assigning any reasons therefore we are informed that the taṇattar sought to change this system of lineage by disciples to the lineage by descendants. We have seen above that the administration was conducted in the far earlier times by the temple servants described as devarkanmigal, Śrimaheśvarakaṇkaṇi, Śrikariyamseyvaṇ. The signatories to this record are not described in terms of these well known designations. It is not known whether this system continued to function or when it was toally changed. The manner in which the justification for changing from disciples to descendants is made at length makes us suspect that the paśupata system of worship introduced a few decades or years before the date of this record degenerated to such an extent that the justification begins with astatement that human sacrifice (naraśivamedham) and intoxicants (madya) are barred for brahmaṇas in the Kali age.

This leads us to surmise that the paśupata system got debased on account of the unbridled dominance of the head (sanyasi) of the system in which the affairs of the temple inspite of the possible existence of several maṭhas during the period. [24] We have however no direct evidence.

This might have prompted the taṇattar to induct a grihasta paśupata in the

administration. This inscription, however signifies a total depature from the system of adminstration obtained in this temple in the earlier times.

REFERENCES

1. ARSIE., 1938, No.8.
2. SII.,Vol.XXIV No.16 (fragements IV and VI).
3. Ibid., fragment II.
4. K.K.Pillay, The Sucindram Temple,P.144.
5. SII., Vol.XIX, Nos.248, 342, Vol.XXIII, Nos.200,201, 212.
6. Ibid., Vol.XIII, No.106.
7. Ibid., Vol.II, p.265, line 8.
8. Ibid., Vol. II, p.254, line 5.
9. ARSIE., 1891, No.31; SII., Vol.III, No.76.
10. ARSIE., 1937, No.116.
11. Ibid., 1908, No.406.
12. Ibid., 1937, Nos. 108 and 110.
13. Ibid., 1938, No.33.
14. Ibid., No.24.
15. Ibid., 1937, Nos. 114, 115.
16. Ibid., 1938, No.29.
17. Ibid., 1891, No.18; SII., Vol.IV, No.419.
18. ARSIE., 1937, No.118.
19. Ibid., 1938, No.25.
20. Ibid., 1937, No.113.
21. Ibid., No.106.
22. Ibid., No.135.
23. J.D.M. Derret : An Inscription dated 1584 concerning reform of a maṭha. Studies in Indian History and Culture, pp. 91 ff. Derret has failed (p.96) to understand this convention which commenced from about the 11th century and he has unfairly lamlented about the lack of information in the writings of Mahalingam and Saletore on Vijayanagara. Our analysis of the text shows the marked difference also in respect of other terms in the inscriptions shown in brackets.
24. Ākhilaṇḍanayaki tirumaḍam (= 1240 A.D.) presided over by Viśveśvara Śivācharya (PSI. 196) and Naduvil maḍam (= 1367 A.D.) presided over by Vyapakaśiva (PSI., 446) were known to have existed at Tiruvaṇaikka long before the date of this record.

CHAPTER VI

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

Any description of a temple complex would start from the nucleus or the main sanctum sanctorum because it is only starting with the primary unit (vimana and ardha mandapa) that the complex of pradakshinas (Tiruccurrunadai) prakaras (tirumadil), malikas (tiruccurralai-tiruccurru malika), mandapas and gopuras came to be built around it. We do so here though, the main sanctum sanctorum as extant is not the original but a total renovation forming one of the latest structures in the whole temple complex. It was greatly renovated in the begi nning of the century and the Kumbhabishekam was performed in 1908.[1] Yet it includes much that is old and unaltered, and as such deserves a brief architectural description though there is not much of large sculpture on it.

The adhishthana is of the kapota-bandha type with padmopana, vritta-kumuda, kantha, kapota and pattika.

The kapota carries at intervals kudu arches with a simhamukha finial on top and foliage arching down on either side from its mouth. The corners of the pattika the topmost member of the adhishthana, have projecting makara heads at every corner. It is to be noted that the pranala or the projecting outlet for discharge of abhishekam water is not at the upper levels of the present adhishthana, as it should be, but below it and underneath the upana of the northern side of the sanctum. This pranala level marks the floor level of the sanctum inside that it drains, on the centre of which the linga is placed on a square linga pitha or avudaiyar. Thus neither these two original and most primary constituents have been changed nor disturbed from their original places and levels despite reconstructions and renovations. The present adhishthana or basement, therefore, instead of forming the actual base below the lingapitha surrounds the linga and linga pitha, even like awall, on all sides of the west facing shrine. This original placement of the linga and its pitha related to the earliest brick-temple forming the sanctum of the Kochengannan's time[2] which was rebuilt in stone during Chola times (in the times of Aditya I Chola, as we shall discuss in the sequel), which too has been totally replaced by the present modern structure. All the Chola inscriptions,[3] dating from the time of Parantaka I Chola and after, relate to the earliest brick, and subsequent stone structure. The wall on all the three sides is finished smooth, without sculpture and without devakoshthas. In the place of devakoshthas, on the north just over the vedi, is a small sculpture of a cow (Kamadhenu) pouring the milk from its udder over a Śiva linga. Even such a sculpture is absent on the other sides. The wall on each face has four pilasters of the late Nayak style as continuous even today, each with pronounced base, shaft and capital. The base stands over a moulded plinth. The base of the shaft is square with nagapadams on the top corners and miniature reliefs of potted plants on the exposed faces. The rest of the shaft is octogonal. The capital, likewise octagonal in section, is made up of short kalaśa, a large tadi, kumbha and padma with prominent idal - all octagonal.

The phalaka or abacus is thin and square. The corbels are pushpapotika corbels raised up over a square prominent Virakaṇṭha. Over this comes the beam or uttira decorated by garlands; over which the koḍuṅgai curving up in a series to support the forwardly projected, carved, kapota or eaves. The kapota has tiruvaśi-like kuḍus containing small figure sculptures like Bhairava, seated Vishnu seated Śiva, Ekapadamurti, Chaṇḍeśvara, Bikshaṭana Dakshiṇamurti on the Northern and Eastern sides, while those on the south are concealed by the manḍapa of the sthala vṛiksha, and on the west by the mahamaṇḍapa. over the sanctum, the superstructure is also of stone consisting of the vyaḷavari with projecting makara heads at the corners and octagonal griva and śikhara, all of stone. The śikhara is overtopped by the gold-plated copper stupi. This makes the all-stone vimana, an example of the ekatala (Single storeyed), alpavimana of the Draviḍa type. The griva and śikhara are projected forward as nasikas on all the eight sides, those on cardinals more projected than those on the corners coming between them. The cardinal nasika contain usual figure sculptures like alingana Chandraśekhara Śiva on the east, Dakshiṇamurti on the south, Vishṇu on the west and Subrahmanya in the place of Brahma on the North. Onthe four corners on the top of the vyaḷavari, surrounding the base of the griva, are placed nandis facing out.

The ardhamaṇḍapa is short and of the same architectural style and parts as the main vimana. The two are shown as separated from each other by a niche which contains the characteristic kumbha-pañjara, a feature which started in later Choḷa-Paṇḍyan times and has persisted till today. The garbhagriha has its main entrance on the west while the ardhamanḍapa has its entrance on the south. On the west wall of the ardhamanḍapa there is a perforated window (jalaka or palakaṇi) with nine holes opposite the garbhagriha entrance, affording a view of the linga from outside.

On the south of the main vimana (Fig. 1) and close to it is built another structure of the same dimensions as the vimana itself which encloses the sthala vriksha, the Jambu (Eugenia jambolina) tree. It has a simple adhishṭhana placed over an upapitha and its walls have square pilasters of simpler type. The forward extension of this structure on the west provides the stepped entrance from the west into the ardhamandapa.

The mahamanḍapa of the same period is much larger in dimensions and of greater height. It has an upapitha, kapotabhanda-adhishṭhana and pilasters with capitals as on the main vimana but less ornate. This mahamanḍapa has its main entrance on the west with a side exit on the eastern wall on its Northern wing.

The whole is surrounded by a cloistered pradakshiṇa closed by an enclosure wall or prakara on all the four sides with entrances on the east and west. The one on the west is a regular gopura entrance (four-storeyed) with brick work superstructure and oriented exactly at the centre of the side. The other entrance on the east is shifted towards the north-east corner and it is a plain entrance, though large but devoid of a

gopura superstructure. The pillared cloister or malika is built on a raised moulded plinth which is of an ordinary type (bhadrapitha) and there are three concentric circuits of large pillars supporting the flat roof above. The pillars are all of the usual mandapa type with square and octagonal sections alternating and with the characteristic nagapadam at the four corners of the basal-sáduram. They carry large pushpapotikas. Hugging the wall all round inside and on a still further raised platform is the malika proper affording place for number of subsidiary deities like, Nataraja, the 63 Nayanmars, Navagrahas, series of lingas, Saptamatrikas, Subrahmanya, etc., Structurally the entire unit enclosed by this first or inner-most prakara is entirely a renovation of recent times. Here and there on the outer face of the prakara wall, the old stones containing fragments of inscriptions of Chola and later times are built in.

The peculiarity of this shrine is that there is always water surrounding the base of the linga issuing from the springs in the sanctum floor. The metal icon of Boga Śakthi which, appears to be a later Chola bronze, is placed in the ardhamandapa immediately to the south of the sanctum entrance.

A metal nandi is placed exactly in front of the perforated window on the eastern wall of the ardhamandapa and at the centre of the mahamandapa, while there is another stone Nandi perhaps, the original re-done, placed in front of the mahamandapa entrance and at the centre of the western circuit of the cloister guarding the mahamandapa entrance are two almost full-sized solid cast metalic (copper) icons of dvarapalakas'[4] four-armed on moulded metal badrapithas which are again placed over stone badrapithas. Because there is a belfry or mani-mandapa just on the north of the gopura outside it is locally identified as Manimandapa gopuram (Fig. 2) which measures 23' in length, 22' in breadth and 46-1/2' in height. The gopuram itself appears to be a much later replacement of an original earlier structure. It is of the late Vijayanagara-Nayaka style and would appear to be of the same date as the renovated prakara wall it pierces. The stone basal (Fig. 3) part consists of a single upapitha, jagati, tripatta kumuda, kantha and pattika. The pillars on either side of the entrance carry pushpapotika over their capitals without the phalaka and padma. The pilasters have each square base, nagapadam on top of base, octagonal capital members including the well-formed lotus like padma with idal. The corbels over them are of the simple bevel and tenon type. The kapota is double flexed as in Vijayanagar, Nayak and later periods. The vyalavari alone on top which carries the brick storeyed super-structure appears to be a remnant of the Chola period giving the clue that this gopuram and related prakara wall originally existed in Chola time.

Second prakara (enclosure wall) surrounds an open pradakshina-patha (circumambulatory) on three sides North, East and South and while on the west it is covered over as a projected eastern extension constituting a multi pillared mandapa extending over the whole width and on either side of the main passage, also covered

and its terrace almost touching the main maṇḍapa and gopura. On the three sides north, east and south beyond the open ambulatory and hugging the wall is a malika or cloister maṇḍapa on a raised plinth abutting the prakara wall on its inside. It has a single row of maṇḍapa pillars along the outer edge. While at the south east corner agnidik, the temple kitchen (maḍaippaḷḷi) is located as prescribed in the agamas with storerooms on its sides, the rest of the cloister on the three sides contain misecellaneous sculptures, such as 108 lingas, Nagas, Nandi, Śaiva devotee, Devi, Dvarapalakas, individual lingas and dedicatary slabs with reliefs of linga and devi with votive inscription in Telugu script below. Among these, the Śaiva devotee, the lingodhbhava murti and the larger standing Devi are early specimens of the Choḷa period while the others are much later icons.

On the south west corner of the malika (tiruccuṟṟu maḷikai or tirucuṟṟalai) is the shrine for Vallabha Ganapati. The old shrine structure is totally renovated in plain marble stone. Next to it on the same corner at the southend of the multi-pillared maṇḍapa there is a shrine of Kochchengat Chola Nayanar the earliest personage to be associated with this temple in legend and literature as noted earlier. The multi-pillared maṇḍapa called Ayyan-maṇḍapam[5] contains pillars of diverse type, the square sectioned ones, which appear to be recent additions, and circular sectional ones with attached square columns, forming the main types. The maṇḍapa type pillars flanking the passage are of the type called Aṇi-yoṭṭi-k-kal i.e. large pillars with attached smaller pillars in front. The floor level of the passage is lower than that of the malika and maṇḍapa on either side of it. In the south-west part of this maṇḍapa is built a smaller maṇḍapa, inside, with its own lower roof above, an ornate adhishṭhana below and with aṇi-yoṭṭi-k-kal pillars over it and supporting the roof. The kapota on top of this ornate maṇḍapa has a double curved kapota with koḍungai brackets below imitating timber work supporting the kapota, which is a Vijayanagar and post-Vijayanagar feature. This maṇḍapa contains an oblong shrine dedicated to the principal utsava Vigraha, while, out side, in the mukhamaṇḍapa part are placed the other bronze and copper icons of utsava-murtis. At the northern end inside the large Ayyaṉ-maṇḍapa again on a raised ornate maṇḍapa platform is a lesser maṇḍapa having a shrine for Naṭaraja, thus making it the Sabha-maṇḍapa.It contains the bronze of Naṭaraja that is generally taken out in procession. The corbels on the top of all the pillars is of the early pushpa-potika type (Fig. 4) that is characteristic of Vijayanagara period. Though the Ayyan-mandapa is a late addition including the front raised maṇḍapa of Naṭaraja shrine, the Naṭaraja shrine is of the later Choḷa period, before the time of Kulottunga II (1185 A.D.)[6] whose inscription is found on the wall now in a much defaced form.

The prakara wall is almost the original structure, the stones of which have been brought down during recent renovation and built back, as the numbering of the stones in tar indicates. It contains most of the early inscriptions in various stages of preservation. In front, on its west, the prakara is pierced by a large gopuram, called the Aramiṭṭaṉ gopuram (Fig. 5) (measuring 35' in length, 23' in breadth and 68' in height) according to Sthalapuraṇam and Araviṭṭaṉ gopura in the slab recording the

renovation.[7] This, piercing prakara (wall) on the west, is a large gate-way which is a five storeyed structure of which the two lower storeys including the plinth constitute the original stone work (Kalkaram). The rest of the super-structure is later brick work.

From the architectural features of the stone work, it would appear of the late Choḷa-early Vijayanagara period, (Hoysaḷa ?). The two dvarapalakas (Fig. 6, 6-A) in front on either side of the passage, which are two armed, appear to be still earlier Choḷa sculptures.

This gopuram itself, built of a slightly different kind of granite (white), as opposed to the reddish granite of the prakara wall to which it belongs, is built against the late Choḷa-Hoysala inscriptions[8] on either side on the wall. Except for the upper portions the prakara wall appears to have retained its original form since the inscriptions on either side of the gopura on the western face are in continuous lines except for the fact that the end of the lines of the inscriptions of the northern flank and the beginnings of the lines of the inscriptions of southern flank are obscured by the abutting stone work of the gopura.This would show that this gopura, as extant is later in point of time than these inscriptions and also of larger dimensions than the original gopura that it replaced. It will therefore date after Rajaraja III and Viraramanatha whose inscriptions are the ones found partly built in on the walls behind it. The stone work consists of an upapitha, half buried by the present level of the flag stones of the floor. The exposed portion reveals the kaṇṭha with plain pilasters, the kapota with kuḍu arches having simhamukha finals and vyala-vari alone, over this is the adhishṭhana proper consisting of a padmopana, jagati, vṛitta kumuda, kaṇṭha,paṭṭika and vedi. The pilasters have square bases with nagapaḍam on top, octagonal shaft and capital of the same section with the padma having developed idaḷ. The phalaka is thin and square. The potikas are of the early pushpapotika type. The architrave over the corbals is plain, the kapota is of a single curve with vyala-vari on top. There are two recesses on the south and north faces, each filled up by a pair of pilasters carrying a śala shrine superstructure. While the padmopana of the central section on each face is small in magnitude and with its jagati and vritta kumuda, the outer sections round the four corners have large Padmopana, vritta kumuda marked by series of lines in 'herring bone' pattern, an example of a kaṭakavrita kumuda. Over this, the kaṇṭha bears a kapota making it a kapota bandha type adhishṭhana.

The second storey over this, also of stone, repeats the same pattern as the lower one but is of shorter height.

The rest of the superstructure consisting of 3 talas with griva, śala-sikhara with stupis on top is of brick work pilastered and filled with modern stucco figures of gods, rishis, ganas etc. With this prakara enclosure with a gopuram on its west, the major part of came outside can be said to belong to later phases.

The fourth prākāra (wall) with the Kārttigai gōpuram on the west and the Śankareśvarar gōpuram on the east marks out with definition the Śiva temple unit as it was elaborated before the advent of the major addition, namely the Amman shrine unit on its north, which unlike the Śiva temple unit faces the opposite side or direction namely the east. As will be discussed in the sequel, the interpolation of the Amman temple unit with the original scheme has resulted in many alterations in the circuits outside this prākāra.

This fourth prākāra as defined above has two openings on the west and east which are the Karttigai gopuram and the Śankareśvarar gopuram of lesser dimensions.

The original pillared cloister or tiruchchuṟṟu-maṇḍalam with a moulded adhishṭhāna and front row of maṇḍapa pillars, is extant for the most of their lengths on the south and north sides abutting the walls. From clues obtainable on the structure it would appear to have originally been a two storeyed cloister or iraṭṭai-tirumālikai which was usual in the larger temple complexes built in the earlier Chōḷa times from Rājarāja I to Kulottuṅga I. During tne later reconstruction taller maṇḍapa type pillars of late Vijayanagar style have been ranged on the front over the original plinth thus raising the roof of the lower storey of the maṇḍapa and doing away with the upper storey altogether. It would therefore look as if the Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam or Amman temple unit came into being when the original iraṭṭaittirumālikai was intact. This cloister is interrupted on the western side by a large Vijayanagar maṇḍapa near the south west corner and the Subrahmanya temple opposite to it at the north west. These two are connected by the two long arms of the cruciform sunk passage of the modern maṇḍapa complex recently constructed by the Chettiars in 1908. This maṇḍapa complex, on plan, consists of four oblong maṇḍapas, two in a row on the east, and two corresponding ones in the west, all raised on individual high moulded platforms, and separated from each other by sunken aisles between them, that forms a cruciform passage, east-west and north-south. The aisle of this cruciform passage coming between the raised maṇḍapas form as it were the naves, the maṇḍapas on either side forming the aisles. The two short arms of the naves formed by two oblong maṇḍapas with raised plat-forms on either side, north and south form the rear half of the main passage leading from the Karttigai gopuram to the Āraviṭṭan gopuram in front. The four massive composite pillars enclosing the centre of the cruciform nave are the most decorated, containing bas-relief sculptures of Sōmāskanda on the northeast, Umasahita Chandrasekhara on the South-east Ṛishabhārūḍhamūrti on the South-west and the depiction of the Jambukeśvaram legend on the North-west all facing the central square (Fig. 7).

Flanking the four arms of the cross, which are sunk passages aligned to the general floor level, the raised moulded plinths of the maṇḍapa carry modern maṇḍapa type pillars (Fig. 8) well carved and finished with small reliefs on the lower śaduram in

some cases while in the rest of the finished face of the śaduram is left without the sculpture being completed. The inner row of pillars of each of the four maṇḍapas flanking the four arms of the cruciform passage are taller than those of the corresponding outer rows in that they carry over their main corbels additional simha corbels surmounted by the pushpapotika thereby raising the roof over the cruciform passage as a clerestory with barred windows on all sides over the lower roof level of the maṇḍapas themselves. The large earlier maṇḍapa at the south end of this transpet is a typical Vijayanagar maṇḍapa with a higher floor level than that of the Chettiar maṇḍapas, with pillars of the ani-yoṭṭikkal type on the periphery, the main column of Which is polygonal or fluted while the attached columnettes or pilḷaikkals are square all elaborately carved with sculptures of salabhañjikas and other figures. The pillars inside contain in addition sculptures like Kodaṇḍarama etc. The very ornate adhishṭhana which has got a kapota on top has a series of projected miniature vimana reliefs as had become usual from the late Choḷa period and found continued in the subsequent Vijayanagar and Nayak periods. There are four such on each side. The tall kaṇtha of the adhishṭhana is separated into panels by pilaster strips and the panels are filled with sculptures of dancing men and women in various poses of dance. On the eastern side of the moulded plinth is a flight of steps leading upto its platform from the ground level of the pradakshiṇapatha or tiruchchuṟṟunaḍai. The steps of this sopana are flanked by carved balustrades in the form of an elephant's trunk coming out of a vyala mouth. The exposed outer faces of the two balustrades have each a bold relief sculpture of a vyala.

At the northern end of the longer arm of the transept is located a small ekatala shrine dedicated to Subrahmanya. Judging from its architectural features it is of the Choḷa style of about 12th century but it is totally covered by modern plaster. The upapiṭha is a short plain plinth of about six inches height and the adhishṭhana consists of plain upaṇa, tripaṭṭa kumuda and thick paṭṭika. The pilasters are four-sided. The padma is plain without petals and the potika is of the bevel-and-tenon type. The short griva and śikhara are octagonal. Just to the east of the Subrahmanya shrine and housed in a very modern cement walled shrine is the figure of Jyeshṭha which belonged to the original early Choḷa phase and to one of the ashṭaparivara sub-shrines round the main Tiruvaṇaikka uḍaiyar sanctum.

Beyond the modern Chettiar maṇḍapa complex and between it and the western length of the prakara wall are a few structures of historical and architectural interest. Immediately west of the early Vijayanagara maṇḍapa is a vimana unit of the late Choḷa or Hoysaḷa times which consists of a combined Śiva and Amman shrine, the former facing north and latter facing east both built over a common moulded plinth and covered by a continuous wall all round. The plinth consists of a three stepped padmopana, a plain jagati, tripaṭṭa kumuda, recessed kaṇtha, Paṭṭika with vedika above, it. The pilasters have square bases with the nagapaḍam on top corners, octogonal shaft, capital members of the same section with the padma having distinct idaḷ, square phalaka carrying early pushpapotika type corbal. The walls of the Śiva shrine have devakoshṭhas or niches on the three sides which are now empty. The

Amman shrine is attached to the west wall of the ardhamaṇḍapa of the Śiva shrine and has the same type of adhishṭhana but of lower height and with shorter pilasters which are foursided without base and nagapadams and with corbels of the same type as in the Śiva shrine. The short ardhamaṇḍapa of the Amman shrine which opens into the ardhamaṇḍapa of the Śiva shrine is visible as a recess outside which contain the characteristic kumbha pañjara. The Śiva vimana is dvitala, the square second tala carries the circular griva and śikhara with metal stupi on top and they are all of brick and stucco. The Devi vimana is ekatala and the griva and śikhara are of brick and stucco.In front of the structure there is a small square stone- lined pond called Indra tirtha. The mahamaṇḍapa common to both the shrines is interposed, between the shrine complex and the pond. The general architectural character, the presence of the kumbha pañjara and the palakani on the eastern-wall of the Śiva shrine opposite to devi shrine, and the two defaced Kannaḍa and Grantha inscriptions would help in the identification of this small temple unit as Someleśvaram built in honour of the Hoysaḷa queen Somala devi by Hoysala Vira Someśvara.

Just to the west of the Someleśvaram unit is a triple-shrined complex. The three shrines in an east-west row, facing north, have a common ardhamandapa and mahamaṇḍapa in front. The whole is built on a raised piṭha of about five feet height consisting of padmopana, vritta kumuda, tall kaṇṭha, kapota with kuḍu ornament and vyalavari. In front is a sopana (a flight of nine steps) guarded by śurulyaḷibalustrades. The outer face of each balustrade contains a small vimana motif. This is fronted by a large agramaṇḍapa of early Vijayanagar times with a broad central nave and narrow aisle on either side. The facade of the common ardhamandapa rises in two storeys, with three entrances that correspond to three inner shrine entrances at the lower storey level, while higher up what appears to be the second storey is of brick and mortar with five niches in the aedicules the two end ones square of the nature of kuṭas the central one an oblong sala and the intermediary ones pañjaras. The adhishṭhana of both ardhamaṇḍapa and the triple-shrine part behind consists of upana, jagati, tripaṭṭa kumuda, kaṇṭha and paṭṭika. The walls have pilasters with capitals, all square in section and the padma with idaḷ. The corbels are of the late Choḷa bevel-and-tenon type. It cannot be said from the extant structure how many talas there were over the vimana or what the grivas and śikharas were like, since it is now a flat brick and mortar terrace.This triple-shrine unit from architectural and other considerations can be the other three shrines built by Vira Someśvara in honour of his parents and grandfather as mentioned in his inscriptions.[9]

Beyond, and to the west of triple-shrine unit and the Vijayanagar front mandapa, is another small temple unit of the Nayaka times consisting of a Siva shrine facing north called Sundareśvara and Amman shrine facing south called Minakshi shrine both opening into the rear end of the four pillared maṇḍapa. Both the shrines are of very simple plain architecture showing no moulded parts in the adhishṭhana nor pilaster reliefs on the walls though they are all marked by ochre or chiseled lines to be sculpted. They have shallow tall niches on the three side walls. The four pillars of the maṇḍapa however are remarkable for the statues of four Nayak chiefs they carry.

These stands with folded hands in añjali and are cut out of the inner faces of the pillar blocks. The three other śaduram faces have reliefs of devotees and other motifs. The Garuda in front of the north-east pillar is only a rough out and still in state of unfinish. This would perhaps indicate a date towards the end of Madurai Nayaka dynasty.

Just to the west of the northern half of the Chettiar maṇḍapa complex and coming directly opposite to the triple shrined Hoysaḷa unit is a large multipillared maṇḍapa of the Vijayanagara type with a raised floor reached by a flight of steps from the passage between the two gopuras, the Karttigai and Āraviṭṭan. This is now called the uñjal maṇḍapam with a central square part having pillared extension on its three sides west, south and east. The south or front extension in addition to the frontal plain flight of steps (sopana) has on its east and west ornate sopanas guarded by Surulyaḷi balustrades with sculpture relies on their outside. Much of the plinth is buried in the modern floor. In between this maṇḍapa front and the fourth prakāra wall is a very modern style (post-Nayaka) and plainly built temple unit consiting of a Śiva shrine, the Jambuliṅga shrine, facing east and Devi shrine, Akhilambal shrine, facing south, both opening into a common small square open mandapa with four pillars. The pillars are as usual the normal maṇḍapa type columns with no sculpture on them. Both the shrines ekatala. The griva and śikara of the Śiva shrine is octagonal while that over the Devi shrine is circular. This temple unit stands exactly opposite to the temple unit of Mīnakshi Sundareśvara.

The Kārttigai gōpuram (Fig. 9) on the western side piercing the fourth prākāra wall on this side is a five storeyed structure the lower the stages being stone work, the rest of the superstructure being of brick and mortar. The stone work is very ornate. At the base (Fig. 10) it has a padmopana and over it vritta-kumuda, thick paṭṭika and vedi carrying four-sided pilasters with capitals. The whole base is almost on a cruciform plan, the east-west arm forming the main passage. The pilasters are square with floral and creeper work on its shaft and without nagapaḍam. The capitals are of the same section, the potika is of the bevel-and-tenon type. The kapota has a single curve and the kuḍus contain sculptures of human heads. From the walls on the sides are projected panjara fronts in addition to shallow devakoshṭhas, carved on the wall faces in between the pañjara fronts. The pilasters of the pañjara fronts have nagapaḍam and idaḷ below the palakai. The second tier has again its own adhishṭhana with padmopana, jagati, fluted kumuda, kaṇṭha, kapota and paṭṭika. The pilasters have square bases, octagonal or polygonal shafts with capitals of the same section. The pilaster bases have nagapaḍam and the capital has the well formed petalled idaḷ below the palakai. The corbel is of the bevel-and-tenon type. The kapota has a single curve and the kuḍus have small reliefs of divine sculptures. The various tiers of the brick work supersturcture are crowded.with stucco icons placed in every conceivable space and all of them of very recent times.

Judging from the architectural features of the stone part and even in the absence of any inscription relating to the gōpuram, or information about its original name, it may be assigned to the 12th century at the earliest .

At the north east corner of the 4th prākāra, at the eastern termination of the pillared cloister of this side is a simple but fine Cholamandala of the later Chola period with the plain upana, jagati, tripaṭṭa kumuda, kanṭika, thick paṭṭika and vedika. It is a closed mandapa and its walls as seen from outside have tall square pilasters with capitals of the same section, the padma below the phalaka still plain without being carved into lotus petals. The corbels are of the bevel-and-tenon type. On the southern exposed faces there are three shallow niches between the wall pilasters framed by plain toraṇas borne on flanking pilasters. Its original open portico has been reconstructed above the adhishṭhana into a closed walled structure in later times. Inside the maṇḍapa are four central pillars enclosing a central bay surrounded by eight bays all round forming a navaranga. The central bay has a raised platform for the principal homa kuṇḍa while the other eight have subsidiary homa kuṇḍas at floor level. This seems to have been yagasala even from the beginning.

Behind northern flank of the eastern prākāra wall stretching on either side of the Śankareśvarar gopuram, running the whole length and abutting the rear of the yagaśala, is a Choḷa 100-pillared maṇḍapa with its original adhisṭhana and many of its Chola period pillars interespersed with a few later replacements. The maṇḍapa is completely walled up all round. Opposite to it on the southern side there is another, later, closed utsava maṇḍapa called vasanta utsava maṇḍapa with a tank in the centre as appropriate to such type of maṇḍapa.

The pradakshiṇapatha inside this enclosure has four, tall, pillared maṇḍapas, at intervals, all of the Vijayanagar Nayak period. The first on the northern side is the one connecting the third prakara wall with the fourth and roofing the passage from the Śiva temple complex enclosure into the Amman temple complex enclosure. A little distance to the east and between this and yagaśala is a maṇḍapa for the processional halt of the deity near the north east corner. Again in the middle of the eastern side is a small ornate maṇḍapa, called locally Kuratti mandapa because of dancing sculptures of kuravan and kuratti (Fig. 11, 11-A) on its pillars, of the late Vijayanagar period. Likewise there is another tall open maṇḍapa on the middle of the southern passage for the temporary halt of the processional deity which is also of the late Vijayanagar period.

The Śankareśvarar gopuram (Fig. 12) as it is now called, piercing the same fourth prakara on the eastern side, is almost of the same date as the Karttigai gopuram facing west but less ornate and smaller in magnitude. Its upana and part of the plain jagati are buried by the present floor level. The tripaṭṭa kumuda is a bold moulding, the kantha is plain and the paṭṭika large and thick as in earlier structures. The vedika too is plain. The pillasters on the walls are of the characteristic Choḷa type, square both in their shafts and capital parts. The phalaka is thin and square and padma below it has no idal. The corbels are of the incipient pushpapotika type in which the central tenon of

the beveled corbel arm of the earlier Choḷa period is just being transformed into a rudimentary, bell-shaped piece anticipating the much projected pushpapotika arm of the later period corbel (Fig. 13).

The four tiers of the superstructure are of brick and mortar, totally redone in modern times but contrasting with the superstructure of Karttigai gopuram, its counter part on the west, in totally being devoid of stucco figures. The ornamentation is purely architectural consisting of the kuḍus, śalas, pañjaras and nasikas forming the hara line of the respective talas.

The most characteristic feature of this gopura is the two two-armed dvarapalakas (Fig. 14, 14-A) placed in niches on either side of the central opening in its east face. They are typically late Choḷa. The gopura contains two inscriptions[10] in verse on its front or eastern face, one on at its south relating to the coronation of a Baṇa chief and in Tamil verse and the other a short inscription[11] referring to the coronation of the Paṇḍya king at Ayirattaḷi. Above this inscription are incised by chisel line the two carps and an aṅkuśa, the Pandya emblem. Of two side faces in front of the door frame inside the passage, the inscription[12] on the south is of the times of Kulottuṅga III registering a political pact of friendships between Rajarajadevaṉ Poṉparappinaṉ Vaṇakovaraiyan and Śiyaṉ Udayapiḷḷai alias Akalaṅkanadalvaṉ.

The one on the south is a Grantha inscription, much defaced. Inside, towards the western end of the passage on the southern side is an inscription of Kulottuṅga III. All the inscriptions attest to the fact that the gopura proceeded in time the date of Kulottuṅga III who came to power in 1178 A.D.

The fifth prakara wall, with the Mallappan gopuram on its west, at present takes within its circuit the Siva temple complex delimited by the fourth prakara (wall) and Devi temple complex of later date which occupies the central third of the area inside its northern wing with coconut gardens in front on the east and behind on the west. On the eastern side the present access to this enclosures is through the Suṇḍarapandyan gopuram, which is obviously a later addition in later times. The contemporary eastern Wall could perhaps have run across from the north to the south on a line that would run in front of the Sankaresvara complex on that side (as at present). This wall that so stretched across in front of the Saṅkareśvara was eliminated and the space behind the Suṇḍarapaṇḍian gopuram with the extended fifth prakara wall came to include the whole area behind the turn in at the south-east and the north east corner to form the lengths of wall abutting the flanks of the Suṇḍarapaṇḍian gopuram.

The Mallappan gopuram (Fig.15) on the west is itself of a simple type with its stone work in two tiers surmounted by brick work superstructure. It is essentially a tritala gopura of which the two lower one are of cut-stone work. The upapiṭha the base

(Fig. 16) is almost buried in the modern flooring and the top portion of its kantha with its plain pilasters and the kapota with kudu arches alone exposed. The adhishthana over it is again plain consisting of plain upana, jagati rounded or vritta kumuda, kantha and thick pattika. The wall over this carries paired pilasters with recesses in between the pairs. The pilasters are of plain type with tall shafts of square section carrying the capital component, also square in section, the padma over the square phalaka showing faint carving into the idal pattern. The potika above is of the bevel-and-tenon type. The kapota is single flexed with kudu ornaments, on top runs a vyala vari with makara heads projected at the every corner. Upto this part it possesses all the architectural characters of a gopura base of the later Chola period and it is upto this height. as in all other cases of the inner prakaras,that the enclosure wall on either side of each gopuram is raised. So the original Chola gopura perhaps derived its name from its original builder, a certain Mallappan and it had come in for the remodelling of its super-structure at the time of Devaraya II (1422-46 A.D.) by a certain Chaundapendra as the inscription[13] on the gopura indicates. This has taken the form of total alteration of the original at the second tala stage, without disturbing the earlier lower tala. The second tala also of stone would, from its architectural,features accord with the early Vijayanagar inscription. It is of shorter height though of the same length and breadth as the lower tala. The adhishthana is simple and of short height. The pilasters on the walls and also the pillars fronting the central passage on either side, east and west, are of the early Vijayanagar type. They have square bases with nagapadam top corners, octoganal or polyganal shafts, capital members of the same plan, the phalaka alone being square and having a well devoloped inverted lotus pattern padma with distinct idal or petal. The corbels are of the early pushpapotika type as characteristic of later Chola-Pandya and early Vijayanagar structures. The kapota (perhaps original) on top is single flexed with kudu arches and over it runs vyala vari. The recesses on the wall face of the second storey are filled by pañjaras, the kumbha pañjaras are peculiarly absent. The rest of the super-structure is of brick and mortar, with double storied salas (erusalai) on the centre, east and west, while the karna kutas and pañjaras of the hara are single storeied. The profusion of stucco sculptures, as also their style which are characteristics only of late Vijayanagar-Nayak and modern gopuram, would indicate that the brick work superstructure is, as extant, in replacement of or a remodelling of, the earlier brick work super-structure of Chaundapendra. On the western side the flanks of the lowermost tala on the either side of the central passage are totally concealed by two plainly built modern stone shrines one for Ganesa on the north and the other for Subrahmanya on the south. Inside Mallappan gopura and in front of the Karttigai gopura and occupying the middle of the court is a four pillared mandapa of the Nayak period with attached portrait sculptures of Nayak chieftains, and who possibly would look like the donors on the inner faces over the base, while on the other sides are the smaller sculptures of stewards and attendants.

Since this Sundara Pāṇḍyan gōpuram is noted for its size, architecture and sculpture and has attracted scholars as the most important extant monument in this temple complex, this abarent structure is described in some detail.

The Sundara Pāṇḍyan gopuram, (Fig. 17) on the east, which pierces the north-south cross wall between the prakara embracing the Śankareśvara gopuram and the outer most east prakara embracing the ruined gopura is the most important architectural piece, as extant, in the whole temple complex containing, as it does, much of its original stone sculpture in the niches of its twostoreied kalakaram part in addition to its being one of the largest gopurams of the period. This is also the most frequently mentioned landmark, particularly in the gopura series of the South Indian temple. The name Sundara Pāṇḍyan gopuram has been given by J. Dubreuil and is known as such to scholars and others alike. There is no inscription on the gopuram or the adjacent walls to vouch for such a nomenclature. An inscription[14] on the third prakara wall on its northern side refers to land grants for the construction of an elunilai or seven-storeied gopuram by Vira someśvara, the Hoysala king who ruled between 1233-67 A.D. All things considered this being the only seven storied gopura with characteristics of 13th and 14th centuries, the inscription evidently refers to the construction of this gopuram and its description as Vira Someśvaram Elunilai Gopuram.But the Pāṇḍyan emblem of the 'paired fish with śendu (ankusa) in between very finely carved out of the smoothly finished under surface of the larger lintel stone of the rear opening of the gopura would suggest, on first appearance, that gopura is of Pāṇḍya authorship. This because the lintel, which occupies the top level of the kalkaram and the opening extends up in height through both the tiers of the kalkaram, could not have gone up to its position there before both the tiers of the kalkaram have been built up. This would be the case even if the lintel was dressed to shape and its under surface finished with the Pāṇḍya emblem on the ground as it normally must have been. But even as it is one observes that the stone part or the kalkaram has not been completed in all its sculptural decor. The four pilasters on either side of the passage both in front and rear of the vestibule of the naligeha have their panels separated into nodes by a series of well finished kapota mouldings but with the intended sculpture reliefs unfinished. The rectangular spaces have been blocked out for sculpturing dance poses and other reliefs as has become usual in large gopuras of the late Choḷa, Pāṇḍya and Hoysaḷa periods as for example in Vriddhachalam, Chidambaram and other places. These were evidently intended to be taken up by the sculptors and finished in situ after the completion of the erection. A few of them have however been fully done or half done. Another noteworthy feature is the difference in architectural characteristics and niche sculptures obtaining in the two super posed talas of the stone kalkaram.These will be evident from the brief description given below.

The lower tala of the kalkaram (Fig. 18) stands on a simple upapitha, mostly buried at present, showing only the flat pilasters of the kantha part here and there. The adhishthana consists of a padmopana very boldly brought out in its padma part with the vritta kumuda above that is perfectly rounded. The short kantha has rectangular pilasters carved with scroll work. The panels in between are filled by rows of small sculptures of dancing ganas. The pattika is thick and plain with lotus petal decoration on top and bottom. The adhishthana, is of uniform pattern all round with no variation in the projected and recessed parts. It is more projected forward on either side of the naligeha passage beyond which on either side there are three lesser projections of varying width to accord with the types of full-fledged devakoshthas they carry; rectangular sala forms, one on the either side of the gateway projection since it carries a niche with a sala and the corner since it carries devakoshtha with a pañjara sikhara, the outer most near the corner being square for a kuta type devakoshtha with a kuta sikhara. This last on each, side south and north, is located a little inside the extreme corner. The devakoshthas of the sala pañjara and kuta type contain figure sculptures in most cases and some of them are now empty. The two dvarapala niches on the other hand are just rectangular slits without even a torana on top. The main pilasters which, come over the kapota of the vedi are four sided with capital components devoid of the phalaka and idal. The corbels are of the bevel-and-tenon type. But the pilasters flanking the niches are polygonal in their shafts above the square base with nagapadam. The phalaka and idal are present and the potikas are rudimentary pushpa potikas. The recesses on the walls also contain niches which are narrower and with plain torana tops. They also contain figure sculptures. Their pilasters are four-sided and have the padma, without petaling, and phalaka on top. In between these recess niches and bay niches are kumbha pañjara which are not full-fledged in that they do not carry the pañjara over the abacus on top but in their place a very flat arch supported by two upcurved brackets. The kumbha at the base of the kumbha pañjara is plain with a median rib. The pilaster issuing from the kumbha mouth is square as also the capital part. The idal below the phalaka is also well-formed. The faces of the kumbha, Pilaster and capital parts of this motif are devoid of decorative carvings. The kapota of the prastara has a series of kudu arches with lion finials. In the places over the main devakoshthas they constitute the nasikas of the respective type of the sikhara. The sala sikhara has three stone stupis. The inside of the kudus forming the nasaikas of devakoshtha sikhara are well developed with circular depressions containing shrine motifs. The other kudus are flat and in many cases unfinished without the central circular cavity out even. This would indicate that the first phase of the work as halted for sometime before the next phase of building of the second tala was taken up.

The second tala or somewhat greater height than the lower one shows architectural features and embellishment that differ from those of the lower tala. Its adhishṭhana part is projected and recessed in acccrdance with the scheme of projections and recessions of the tala below. The part of the adhishṭhana of the bay on either side of the naligeha or gopura dvara-opening has a double padmopana with vritta kumuda, kaṇṭha and paṭṭika with the vedi above. It contains a plain niche for the dvarapala one on either side of the opening as in the tier below. The tall main pllastors flanking the niche are uniformly square in section with a full-fledged capital, the padma below the phalaka being simple and not worked out into petals. The potikas on top are of bevel-and-tenon type tending to form rudimentary pushpa potikas which make their appearance in the Tamilian temple even from the time of Rajaraja II - Choḷa (1146-1173) as in Darasuram. Immediately adjoining it on the recessed part is a palakaṇi or lattice window that also becomes common from the same period indicating contemporary influence from the Hoysaḷa-Chaḷukya region on the west and north. The deep wall recess next to it on the outside contains a kumbha pañjara, taller than the one on the lower tala below and of a different pattern. Its kumbha is ribbed unlike the smooth surfaced form of the lower tala. The pilaster issuing from the kumbha, though square, is elaborately decorated with scroll work as also the capital while the corresponding parts of the lower tala motif are undecorated. The phalaka carries an elongated nasika arch in contrast to the flat rudimentary arch found on top of the corresponding member below on the lower tier. The next bay which contains a śala devakoshṭhas has a adhishṭhana of different type with a simpler padmopana in line with the similar moulding of the central bay and over it; in place of the bold second padmopana of the later, a plain jagati. The kumuda over it is of the tripaṭṭa type while the kaṇṭha and paṭṭika are similar to the correspnding members of the central naligeha bay. The main pilasters have square base, polygonal shaft and capital members of similar section. The padma below the phalaka has a well-developed idaḷ and the potikas are incipient pushpha potikas. The short pilasters flanking the devakoshṭa niches have square base, circular shaft and capital and carry a śala śikhara. The next recess again contains a kumbha pañjara, and the next bay out side it is narrower with the same type of pilasters and corbels as found in the śala devakoshṭa bay. The adhisṭhana of this bay has the same type of upana as in the śala bay but the kumuda is fluted and the kaṇṭha carries a kapota in place of the paṭṭika. The devakosṭha niche of the pañjara bay is surmounted by a toraṇa arch. Between this pañjara bay and extreme karnakuṭa bay is again an ornate kumbha pañjara.

The extreme karnakuṭa bay, again differs in its adhisṭhana having a small padmopana, jagati, vṛitta kumuda, kaṇṭha and paṭṭika. The pilasters and their capitals also differ in that they are square in section throughout and resemble those of the central naligeha bay, with the exception that the padma has fully developed idal or petal and the potika is of the rudimentary puspha potika type. Over the parts of the prastara, with the prominent kapota with kudu arches, well formed and with deep circular centre and simha mukha finnials. This is topped up by the vya1avari course with the vyalas conforming to the style of the period.

Thus while the adhisṭhana of the lower tala is uniformly of a single type, that of the upper tala shows variation in length exhibiting three Varieties of adhisṭhana mouldings. The kumbha pañjaras of the upper tala are more elaborate and ornate, in contrast to the simpler ones below. The incipient pushpa potika carbels predominate in the upper tala.

Coming to the relief sculptures on the stone part of the gopura, one may first mention the fact that the 16 tall pilasters on either flank of the naligeha passage with superposed panels demarcated by kapotas were all intended to be filled with sculptures of dancing women etc., as mentioned earlier. In most cases the panel faces are plain, in some blocked out for sculpture and in a few cases finished with sculpture and even those finished ones are at the lowest level indicating that the completion of the panels in situ after erection of the columns was to be from below upwards. These 16 monolithic columns should have been erected like the massive jambs even at the time of the construction of the lower tier of the kalkaram and left to be finished with sculptures of dance etc. at a later stage. The scheme of the sculptures inside the passage on either flank and outside in the devakoshṭas as and wall recesses follows more or less the pattern followed in the Chidambaram gopuras as observed by J. Harle.[15] The sculptures of the lower tier that are still in their niches (some of the niches have lost their sculptures) are older in point of time and different in form, stature, and style from the well preserved ones in the niches of the upper tala.The tall sculptures of slender form of the upper tier constrast sharply with the shorter and plumpier forms of the sculptures that remain in the lower tier. Particularly the dvarapalas flanking the entrance of the two talas make a marked contrast. The superstructure of this tall gopura over this kalkaram is of brick and mortar profusely filled with stucco figures which are much later.

Harle[16] has made a searching comparision of this gopura with those at Darasumram, Chidambaram and Tiruvaṇṇamalai and has brought out many points of comparision and contrast. In discussing the nomenclature of the gopuram as 'Sundara Paṇdyan gopuram' he does not take into account the inscription of Vira-Someśvara (1233-67 A.D.) making a liberal grant of lands for the construction of a seven storeied gopuram which can only refer to the gopuram under consideration. And even after his discussion Harle is rather wary in his conclusion about the Sundara Paṇḍya

One significant point that Harle has missed in his remarkably close study of this and other gopuras and that which counts primarily in the matter of the dating of the gopura is the Pandya emblem and its location on the under side of the lintel over the inner end of the naligeha passage. As stated earlier this could not have been hoisted to its position on top of the tall massive jambs reaching the prastara level of the second tala. This would mean that the lintel went up only at the close of the kalkaram work comprising both the talas was completed. If the difference in architectural features and sculptural style, as it evident between the two talas, is any indication one has to postulate two phases in the construction of the kalkaram, one separated from the other by a fairly significant interval of time. This because the architects and sculptures who did the upper part belong to a generation somewhat later than the one to which the artisans of the lower part belonged. In this context the contemporary history of the Tamil country and its vicissitudes should bo borne in mind. The power of the Cholas was waning and they were struggling for survival. The power of the Paṇḍyas was rising and the Hoysalas were intruding into Tamilnad and setting up their rule in the Tamil country with Kaṇṇaṇur, which is only 5 Kms. from Jambukeśsvaram, as their capital on the other side of the river.[17] Beginning with Vira Someśvara their temple building activities and benefactions thereto are only too numerous, not to speak of the construction of the Posaliśvara inside Kaṇṇaṇur which they fortified. To the Jambukeśvara temple itself, Someśvara had made number of donations and added a few shrines to the complex.[18] So it would stand to reason that it was he who initiated the gopuram in question and made the grant for its construction. Thus the lower tala of the kalkaram including the tail jambs and other columns reaching to the height of the prastara of the second tala (as is usual in the construction of all large gopurams) can be attributed to a period late in the times of Vira Someśvara, which would have been continued in the time of his successor Vira Ramanatha, to be halted only by historical circumstances resulting in the great military activities of Jaṭavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I (ace. 1251 A.D.) and the expansion of the Paṇḍyan empire under this inveterate king. Histery records that Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I succeeded, in the first years of his reign, in driving the Hoysaḷas away from the area and in confining them to the Mysore plateau. The contemporary Choḷa Rajendra III, the last Choḷa ruler known, was himself in trouble when Jaṭavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I extended his conquest upto Nellore in the north, Śri Laṅka in the south, to Keraḷa and the Mysore plateau to the west.[19] Jaṭavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I during his 17 years of successful rule and glory may easily have continued tho construction of not only the upper tala of the gopuram, kalkaram and its superstructure but also the cross wall on either side of the gopuram to meet the earlier existing north and south flanks of the fifth prakara wall isolating thereby an open, enclosed court between this gopuram and the eastern most Mottai gopuram. This evidently is marked by two Pandyan emblems on the eastern section of the northern length of the 6th prakara wall which is commonly known as vibuti prakara from the name found in the inscription accompanying one of the two emblems reading "Thirunirru Sundara Pandyan Tirumaligai"[20] which would refer only to the cloister (malaikai) on the inner face of the wall and not to the wall (prakaram madil) itself. Led by the early epigraphist's statement that the short inscription is in characters of

about the 14th century, scholars like Rajamanikanar [21] would attribute this tirumadil work to a later Paṇḍya chief bearing the name of Sundara Paṇḍya (1303-1319 A.D.) The dynastic quarrel in the Paṇḍyan court, Malikafur's invasion of these parts and Madurai in 1310 A.D. and the virtual desruption of the Paṇḍyan kingdom and the chaos that followed in the Tamil country would not have been very propitious for this short lived and weak Paṇḍya ruler to have would not have been very propitious for this short lived and weak Paṇḍya ruler to have undertaken and completed the gigantic task of the second tala and super-structure of the gopura and the tirumadil with the maḷigai or cloister on its inside to which particularly the short inscription refers. Thus historically the evidences would point to the possibilities of Jaṭavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I himself, who is noted for his great benefactions and structural activities over many parts of the Tamil country particularly Śrīraṅgam, Chidambaram etc. being the author of these works being Jaṭavarma Sundara Paṇḍyan who completed the gopuram and tirumadil hy assigning the emblems of them. Obviously the identification of this Sundara Paṇḍya with Maravarman I Sundara Paṇḍya (A.D.1216) who ruled before Someśvara, and who was more occupied with his wars of reviving and consolidating the secured Paṇḍyan empire, will be ruled out of consideration.

The Saṅkareśvar temple complex and the Jambu tītham occupy the southern half of the space outside the Sankareśvara Gopuram and inside the Sundara Paṇḍyan gopuram which is the penultimate one on the east, on which side there are 3 gopuras in all as opposed to a series of four gopuras on the west which Is the direction in which the principal sanctum sanctorum faces and which forms the side for general entrance today. This because the Jambu tirtham tank had to be accommodated on the southern half even in the original scheme and as such a wall with a gopura,which would normally cut through the middle of the tank could not be thought of. Instead a plain opening with a maṇḍapa behind it was provided on the south for exit into the next outer enclosure.

The Śaṅkareśvarar complex to the north of Jambu tīrtham and south of the central open passage between the Śaṅkaresvara gopura inside and the Sundarapaṇḍya gopuram outside is, as extant a mostly modern complex. But the nuclear shrine of Saṅkaresvara facing west appears, from architectural considerations to be of the time of Rajaraja I (= A.D.985-1014) or Rajendra I (A.D.1012-1044), and at any rate not later than the middle of the 11th century, It would appear to have originally an all-stone vimana or karṟaḷi of which the lower parts of the original vimana and the ardhamaṇḍapa are extant, the super-structure being, as extant, a modern brick and stucco renovation. The Choḷa nature of the shrine and ardhamaṇḍapa facing west is not only determined by the architectural features but also from fragments of Choḷa inscriptions in the script of the times referring to Rajendra Choḷa. The inscription fragment is near the south western corner of the kumuda of the adhishṭana. The rest of the inscription has been obliterated by later dressing of the surface even as the inscription on the walls appear to be similarly Obliterated. The abhishṭhana has a bold tripaṭṭa kumuda with kaṇṭha and thick paṭṭika carrying the walls above. The pilasters

are of square section from base to phalaka with capital components of the early Choḷa type and a corbel with a straight bevel and without a central tenon, all features that would indicate even a date perhaps, prior to Rajaraja I. The Kapota has a single curve with typically early Choḷa kuḍus on it,the vyala vari, again, is typically early Choḷa with vyalas placed distinctly apart from one another. What formed the original mahamaṇḍapa has been considerably enlarged and walled up by walls of plain dressed stone blocks, without architectural features like adhishṭhana, pilasters, kapota, etc. This includes south facing amman shrine. It is on these walls and the lintel of the original ardhamaṇḍapa entrance that the modern Grantha and Telugu inscriptions [22] of Sadaśiva Dikshita of the 17th century occur, proclaiming the renovation of this entire unit. On the southern face of the Śankareśvarar vimana and in front of the Dakahiṇamurti niche is built a projected shrine for the deity and next to it on the south side of the ardhamaṇḍapa is built a small shrine for dancing Gaṇeśa. The whole complex is surrounded by an early Vijayanagar style maṇḍapa with early Vijayanagar and Choḷa pillars in the composition of its columnade. Inspite of this, this would appear to have been intact earlier than Sadaśiva Dikshita's activities here. In front and on the southern side of the complex of this Sundareśvarar unit, is another open front mandapa made up of old pillars of different height with suitable basal additions to bring their tops to the same beam level above

In front of this unit and surrounded by similar maṇḍapa of miscellaneous pillars of different lengths with additions of blocks to their tops or bases, is the very plain modern shrine in stone of Jambukeśvara, facing east and the Jambu tirtham, and his Devi in another shrine facing south and opening into the common maṇḍapa in front of both. This for no appreciable reason is called "old Jambukeśvaram". May be it came to be so called because it came to face the pre-existing Jambu tirtham.

The Akhilaṇḍeśvari temple unit forms a separate complex on the north of the Jambukeśvara complex described so far and is separated from it by the northern length of the fourth prakara wall. A plain opening with passage cutting through the cloister abutting the south face of the above wall leads into this complex. The apparently oldest part inside this is what is now the Gaṇapati shrine, a later Choḷa structure in stone of about the 12th-13th century. It consists of a square vimana with an ardhamaṇḍapa of lesser width mounted on top of an unformly oblong common platform. This platform which is the upapiṭha has a padmopana at the base with a vyalavari above it. Over this is a tall kaṇṭha with pilasters,a kapota with kuḍus and anvyala vari of small vyalas on top. Over this the adhishṭhana of the vimana and ardhamaṇḍapa has a padmopana, jagati, vritta (rounded) kumuda,kaṇṭha, thick paṭṭika and vedi. The walls have four-sided pilasters with capital members of similar sections of later Choḷa style. The padma below the phalaka is moulded with petals or idaḷ. The potika is of the bevel-and-tenon type. The kapota has plain kuḍus which appear to be re-dressed at the time of dismantling of an original structure and its reconstruction. There is a vyalavari observed above the kapota. The parts above are of very modern brick and stucco and painted in oil colours. The Choḷa inscriptions on the walls have

been defaced by re-dressing or put out of continuity or put upside down during the renovation and reconstruction. Inside the shrine, which is reached by a flight of modern steps that leads up to the ardhamanḍapa floor, is a large sculpture of Gaṇeśa called Prasanna Vinayaka. The sculpture would appear to be of later times. This shrine would thus appear to be a re-assemblage at the place of an earlier stone vimana, which could have occupied the same place or any other place. This appears to have been done when the need of a Gaṇeśa shrine facing the Ammaṇ (Akhilaṇḍeśvari) was felt long after the latter came into existence.

In front of this Vinayaka shrine is a large multipillared maṇḍapa of Vijayanagar style which on its west includes the passage leading from the entrance on the south that connects the Śiva and Devi temple complexes. At the northern end of the passage is a small ornately constructed kolu maṇḍapam. It stands on finely moulded granite stone plinth which is ornately carved. The top of the plinth is reached by a flight of steps in front. Over the plinth is a pavilion carried on four finely wrought granite pillars smoothly polished to resemble black marble, consisting of square pedestal, circular shaft, capitals of the same section ending with the square phalaka. The corbel, beam and kapota are of finely dressed white granite. It is overtopped by a śala roof in brick and mortar with stucco figures, all garishly painted in modern oil colours. Inside the pavilion and occupying almost the whole floor space is a very ornately carved rectangular piṭha of polished granite looking like black marble. Its padma-upana, kapota, Vṛitta kumuda and ornate kapota are intricately carved. This is a fine specimen of the Nayak times the speciality of which was ornate constructions An stone polished black.

Leading from this manḍapa is a gopura entrance piercing its western wall. The architectural features of this gopura accord with the late Choḷa-Hoysaḷa period styles. It has a simple upapiṭha consisting of upana tall kanṭha with pilaster strips and kapota having kuḍus with simhamukha finials. Over this there is a vyala frieze. The adhishṭhana that comes over it has a padmopana jagati, Vṛitta kumuda, kannṭha and thick paṭṭika surmounted by vedika which embraces the base of the pilasters of the wall above. The two flanks of the central passage are projected forward carrying dvarapalaka niches, one on either side. Between each dvarapalaka niche projection and the corner projection of that side is a recess containing a kumbha pañjara of plain workmanship, the pañjara on top being of very small size and narrow. At every corner are pilasters with square base and nagapaḍam at its top corner, octogonal shaft and capital members of the same section, the phalaka, above, being square again. The padma below the phalaka is drawn out into petals or idaḷ. The corbel over the phalaka, with an intervening short square vira-kanṭha is of the early pushpa-poṭika type with a rudimentary bud at the tip of the curved arm. Over this, the architrave carries a kapota with plain kuḍu arches. Above this comes the vyala vari carrying the two storeyed brick work superstructure. This east facing gopuram would appear to be the sole outer gopuram of the Amman temple complex added to the northern side of earlier Śiva temple complex.

The prakara wall that embraces the above gopuram on either side and goes round the complex has a pillared cloister or malika running close to its inner aide on the south-west and north. The southern length of the wall of this prakara is identical with the fourth northern prakara wall of the Śiva temple complex. The continuity of the malika all round inside, is interrupted on the east, on either side of the gopura,by a modern madapalli on the south and a modern pillared mandapa on the north. This cloister which originally would appear to have been of the late Chola-Hoysala times would appear to have been interfeared with in subsequent times. For, while on the three sides south, west and north the original adhisthana has been retained, the row of columns on its front edge is now found to be a miscellaneous assortment consisting of pillars with circular section, pillars with square base and octogonal shaft and pillars with square basal middle and apical sections with octogonal or polygonal belts in between. They are of different heights with pieces added to the top wherever necessary to bring their tops to a uniform beam level. The corbels, too, are some of them of the late Chola type with bevel-and-tenon, while others are of the early pushpapotika type. At the north west corner is projected a square mandapa with a sopana in front of the steps guarded by a śurulyali balustrade as had become usual in such malikas or cloisters in the time of Kulottunga II and later. The sculpture on the outer flank of the balustrade particularly is the characteristic Hoysala symbol of Sala on the back of the lion thrusting his dagger into its mouth. What is very interesting about this malika is that there are evidences of two entrances to this enclosure one on the west exactly on the axial line of main Devi Vimana denoting that it was perhaps the earlier used as principal entrance to the Amman temple enclosure for those Who came to worship Devi before going into Śiva temple enclosure on the south. The presence of evidences of another such opening near the south west corner of the malika which originally communicated with Śiva temple enclosure on the south would indicate this. Or it may be vice-versa for one who had visited Śiva temple can come into the Devi temple enclosure through this entrance and make his exit through the central western entrance discribed above. This would demonstrate that the front gopura (east) of this enclosure was a later addition. The two older entrances are now walled up by cut stone slabs of lesser thickness than the stones of the wall leaving the openings as deep niches visible from the inside. The door-jambs are still visible and inside them at the two top corners the sockets for the insertion and play (or swing) of the top knob of the door leaf and also notches on either aide at the middle height of the jambs for the insertion of the bolting cross-bar, called kanai or kuruku-sattam).

This enclosure or pradakshina patha leads into a second inner enclosure through a very modern gopura with stone work for its basal part and brick work for its superstructure of the same period as the western length of the cloister on either side of the eastern outer gopura that interrupts the continuity of earlier cloister described as above all round, the central lowered passage leading into the front gopuram. The stone base of this gopuram has a tall upapitha, ornate adhisthana with a complex padmopana, tripatta kumuda, kantha, kapota and vedi or varimanam that carries the pilasters on the wall. The pilasters have each a short ornate plinth, the base of the shaft is square with

gopura is of brick and mortar. The inner enclosure is a purely modern work with a sunk central passage or pradakshina patha all round flanked inside and outside by a raised ornate plinth carrying ornate columns in rows on the edge facing the sunk passage. The outer edge of the plinth carries the cut stone wall composed of many of the old stones from the site pulled down during reconstruction and built in after dressing and defacing many of the old inscriptions they contained. Inspite of it on the outer face of this inner enclosure wall or prakara fragments of Tamil and Grantha inscriptions of earlier periods are visible. The pillars and the ornate plinths bordering the passage are of neat cut stone, the material being white granite, the choice of the sthapatis of Naṭṭu Koṭṭai Chettiars.

The central structure enclosed by the corridor maṇḍapam on all sides, constitutes the Amman temple unit consisting of the vimana, ardhamaṇḍapa and mahamaṇḍapa all uniformly of the same plan, design and stone material. All the parts are constructed of highly polished granite blocks, very closely and neatly fitted with exposure of the joints as mere faint lines. The whole is polished black with a mirror sheen. All the three constituents stand on a common upapiṭha. The adhishṭhana of the vimana part above it shows two varieties of mouldings. The slightly projected central part on each face, south, west and north, have an adhishthana with an elaborate padmopana raised over a bold plinth with the petals boldly worked out, vṛitta kumuda, kaṇṭha, kapota, paṭṭika and Vedi. These three lengths of the adhishṭhana that carry the niches above enshrining the three śakti forms (Iccha, Kriya, and jnana śaktis) are interesting in that they vary from the rest of the adhishṭhana. The two flanks on either side of the central niche projection have an adhishṭhana of a different kind. The adhishṭhana has a less eloborate padmopana, jagati, tripaṭṭa kumuda, kaṇṭa paṭṭika and varimanam or vedi above. The pilasters on the wall on each face have each a moulded plinth or bhadra-piṭha. The base of the pilaster is square with distinct and ornate nagapadams on their top corners, the shaft is octogonal in the case of the pilasters on either side of the central niche projection on each face, as also the capital members on top. The padma is well developed with large petals, the phalaka square, the potika or corbel raised over it by a vira-kaṇṭha is of the fully developed pushpa potika pattern. In contrast, the pilasters at either corner of the central niche projection have fulled shafts and similar capital members including the padma above. The half pilasters bordering the niche openings have rounded shafts with similar capital members above and they carry a kapota architrave surmounted by a śala śikhara motif crowning the niche opening. The main architrave over this has a prominently flexed kapota with kuḍu arches of late Nayak and modern pattern. The superstructure is of brick work consisting of the octogonal griva and octogonal śikhara in place of the usually prescribed oblong griva and wagon top or sala śikhara for Devi shrines. On the northern side below the central niche of the vimana wall is projected an elaborately carved pranala forming the outlet for the abhishekam water. The narrow recessed portions, north and south, connecting the vimana with the ardhamaṇḍapa, each, carries an elaborately carved and highly polished kumbha pañjara. The ardhamaṇḍapa repeats the same features in its adhishṭhana as in the mouldings of the central niche and flanking part of the vimana

adhishthana. The central projected niche on its south has a standing Ganapati while that on the north has a standing Durga. The wall pilasters are of the same three types as described for the vimana part and thesimilar architrave is a forward continuation of the vimana architrave. To the north of the ardhamandapa and opposite to the Durga niche is a small shrine for Chandikeśvara which is an elegantly built miniature ekatala Vimana of white, dressed granite blocks that are not polished.

The mahamandapa is a larger square of the same pattern and construction. Its adhishthana has padmopana, jagati, polygonal kumuda, kantha, pattika and vedi. The pilasters have octogonal shafts and capital members. There is no central niche projection on either side, north and south, but above the adhishthana on the centre of each side, north and south, is a pierced stone window framed by short pilasters with round shafts carrying a śala śikhara superstructure. This pierced window or palakani is a Hoysala feature which came to the Tamil country in the 12th century and continued through the Vijayanagar, Nayak periods into the modern times.

On the front of the mahamandapa the central part is slightly projected forward as an ornate 'over door' frame for the entrance. The adhishthana of this part is slightly varied and resembles those of the niche projections on the vimana wall. The pilasters over this section, on either side of the door way, have fluted shafts and capitals as also fluted pushpa potika. On top spanning the entrance is the kapota with three arched kudus containing Lakshmi in the centre, Ganapati on the south and Śarasvati on the north. In front of the mahamandapa is a large pillared open agramandapa with its floor at the same level as that of the plinth of the corridor that runs all round. The pillars are of closely dressed white granite with elaborate carvings of sculptures (Ekapata Murti ; Brihma, Siva, Vishnu Fig. 19) and other decorative motifs. This mandapa belongs to the same period as that of the corridor all round and the structures flanking the gopura on either side in front.

Except for two dvarapalikas and Nandi there are no other sculptures in this mandapa. The central part of this mandapa is raised by a clerestorey roof with iron barred sky lights on either side.

In continuation with the outer plinth of the corridor on the northern side and near the north-east corner is a small oblong śala type vimana which is the palliyarai. Its upapitha, adhishthana, wall and architrave are all in the same style as that of the main vimana and are of polished black granite, except the upapitha which is of closely dressed white granite in conformity with the plinth of the corridor that it interrupts. The oblong griva and śala śikhara with three stupis is characteristic of Devi shrines.

The sixth prakara has a Rajagopuram on the west. The gopuram is a seven-storeyed structure (Fig. 20) the basal structure is a stone part or kalkaram raising to a height of two storeys (Fig. 21). A median bhadra projection runs up vertically over all these storeys providing at its base for the wide main entrance in the ground storeys and the naligehas or passages of the others above. The upapitha at the base is of the simple

mañcha type. The adhishṭhana consists of padmopana, jagati, tripaṭṭa kumuda, kanṭha and pattika, the vedika on top marking the base of the wall above. The main pilasters have square bases with nagapaḍam at the top corner, octoganal shaft and similar sectioned capital members above. The padma is drawn out into sixteen broad petals. The phalaka or abacus is thin and square. The potika is of the early push-potika type marking the transition from the late Choḷa to the early Vijayanagara style. The uttiram or beam is simple and the valabhi does not have any bhuta freize, but is marked out as a row of lotus petals. The kapota is simple-flexed over the flanking sections on either side of the central bhadra as also over the south and north sides of the gopura but the one projected from the prastara of the central bhadra is faintly double-flexed marking again the transition from the later Choḷa or Paṇdya to early Vijayanagara style. Over this runs a vyala vari that is very similar to the late Choḷa form. On either side of the entrance, and placed inside two deep niches, one on either side are twodvarapalakas of late Choḷa style but which appear to have been redone later with the chisel. They are two-armed. The recessed flanking section, south and north of the entrance, have two shallow sculpture niches, the sculptures in them are now absent. That they contained sculptures originally is indicated by the miniature sculptures of rishis on either side on the wall outside. The shorter pilasters flanking the niches have square bases with nagapaḍam circular shaft and capital, with well-developed capital and padma and surmounted by a śala type superstructure.The second storey, of shorter height, is more or less similar to the one below except that it lacks its own adhishṭhana. The central wide entrance carries on each front two chitrakaṇṭa pillars of the maṇḍapa-pillar-type with late Choḷa-or-pre-Vijayanagara type pushpapotika corbel. The kapota of the prastara is single flexed and the extant one is of brick and stucco. The brick and mortar superstructure appears to bo modern work and carries a large number of stucco icons illustrating puranic episodes and four armed dvarapalakas etc. There are many indications that even the kalkaram or basel stone work has been dismantled and reconstructed. The śikhara on top carries seven copper stupis.

The two pillars interposed between the walls of the passage of the second storey facing east and the temple, unlike their counter part of the west, are equating vyali based pillars with octogonal shaft and capital above. The devakoshta niches of the kalkaram on this side toohave lost their original sculptures including the dvarapalakas on the northern flank of the gopuram kalkaram is a modern temple for Gaṇeśa while on the southern flank is a raised platform with manḍapa adjoining the stand of the temple car with steps to carry the idol up to the deck of the car. There is a similar manḍapa a little to the south of it connected with another terumuṭṭi.

Between the sixth and the fifth prakara wall and connecting the two gopura entrances (Raja gopuram and Mallapan gopuram) is a tall multipillared manḍapa with a wide central nave forming the main passage on the axial line. The short south wing of this colossal manḍapa, which constitutes what is called thousand-pillared manḍapa abuts the temple tank called Śurya tirtham with its central niraḷi manḍapam and a surrounding cloistered aloḍi manḍapa.The northern wing of this thousand-pillared

mandapa is much the larger and has its floor raised in the central part on its north south axis. While the main passage, the southern wing and the sunk passage leading to the stepped ascent of the central part of thousand pillared maṇḍapa have large aṇiyoṭṭikkal pillars with a repeated system of corbeling to carry the roof on top, most of the maṇḍapa pillars flanking the main platform on the east and west are rows of columns with round section carrying the pushpa potika corbel on top. The outer most or peripheral pillars alone are of the aṇiyoṭṭikkal variety. Over the platform the pillars are of the chitra kaṇḍa variety with large attached sculptures of women (Fig. 22, 22-A) warriors, 'Nayak' chieftains, and smaller sculptures of different deities. Very near the hind end of this mandapa is a further raised square platform with more ornate pillars and intended for tho placement of utsava murtis during festivals.

Externaly the maṇḍapa shows walled sections over the upapiṭha and adhishṭhana with intervening open sections, the largest open section being the front or the southern section of the maṇḍapa north of the passage. The upapiṭha is tall with a kapota on top and pilasters separating the face of the kanṭha into almost square panels. The upapitha has padmopana with a vyalavari below the tall neck. The most interesting part is that each panel contains a women dancer demonstrating a particular pose of Bharathanaṭya. These will form an interesting study by themselves in comparison with the texts and with similar ones found in the bases of the maṇḍapas of many other temples as for example the Chidambaram temple. This is a feature which started from the time of Rajaraja II Choḷa and extended to Vijayanagara times. In this respect it recalls the similar thousand-pillared maṇḍapa of Śrirangam. The behind-most section enclosing the central ornate pillared pavillion is walled on three sides. The adhishṭhana of this part is more eloborate and consists of padmopana, jagati, rounded kumuda, short kanṭha, paṭṭika, and vedi. While the walls of the other sections contain tall niche pilasters with toraṇa tops projected from the wall face itself, this section which has a higher adhishṭhana carries on its wall shallow toraṇa niches as well as deep devakoshṭha niches, in contrast. While the devakoshṭa niches are crowned by śala superstructure, the other shallow, niches are topped by toraṇas. Flanking the niche pilasters and inside the shallow niches, often, and again in the case of the devakoshṭas are a variety of small relief sculptures of gods, rishis, puranic episodes and animals like elephant etc. The main sculptures that occupied these niches are now lost. What is more, the inner walls of the devakoshṭas have been broken through and fitted with iron grills.

Towards the front end of this maṇḍapa and abutting the wall section is a car platform with steps built during later times obscuring all sculptures. It is a termuṭṭi without maṇḍapa top. On the whole this 1000-pillared maṇḍapa would appear to belong to Vijayanagara times with Nayak additions.

On the eastern side the large unfinished gopuram pierces the outer most wall. The extant part is the lower half of the kalkaram, while the two tall standing jamb pillars indicate the total height of the original double storeyed stone base. Even the lower

storey is ruined beyond the upper levels of its wall. The adhishthana is very pronounced consisting of the stepped upana with fold padma over it, large vritta kumuda, kantha, with kapota on top. The pilasters have square bases with nagapadam and octoganal shaft with similar capitals. The dvarapalaka niches are empty. The central part is a projected bhadra. The two lateral flanks show bhadra projections appropriate to the pañjara and śala of the hara line that would have come above, in a row, the last near the corner of the side. In between are kumbhapañjara with their top portions lost.

The northern gopuram on this circuit is also a 'mottai gopuram' without superstructure and with a two tiered kalkaram at the base. The basal storey has a very tall plain upapitha with the adhishthana that has lost its upana during reconstruction but still with the jagati, tripatta kumuda, kantha, pattika and vedi in place. The pilasters are uniformaly four-sided with similar sectioned capital members above. The corbels are of the Chola type with bevel-and-tenon. The kapota and vyala vari above appear to be of later Chola times. The kapota is single flexed carrying the finely wrought vyala vari. Except the lower most plain courses of the next storey, everything above is lost. What is most interesting in the series of straight laterally deflected or downward inclined rectangular holes, clean cut at intervals through the lower most stone course over the adhisthana. This would show that they were machicolations for musketry, made during the time when this outer most prakara formed a regular defence wall during war or siege, the gopuram forming the entrance bastion or gate bastion. This gopuram was to that end dismantled and reconstructed with provision for such musketry holes made by outting appropriately the bed lengths of the stones of the lower most course to provide an opening in between any two of them and correctly bridged over by the longer stones of original layer of the next higher course. This could have been done only during the Anglo-French or Carnatic wars, when the advancing army crossed the Coleroon (Kollidam) from the north against this fortified temple. But still the gopuram has not lost all of its original architectural features that indicate it to be of the late Chola-Pandya period. This is supported again by a stone slab on the flanking tirumadil with a double carp and ankuśa (Chendu of flagellum) in between the Pandya royal crest or emblem and a short inscription[23] reading "Svaśti Śri Tirunirru Sundar Pandiyan Tirumalkai" (Fig. 23). There is another stone further south with the same double carped and flagellum symbol with the carps horizontal instead of vertical as in the other case and without the inscription.

The corresponding outermost gopuram or the south (Fig. 24) is also a similar late Chola-Pandya gopuram of same pattern and style as the one of the north, but it appears to have been little taller. Its tall upapitha on the front side has been similarly interfered with and the moulded original replaced by plain walling without mouldings and with the machicolations appearing only at a higher level. In both cases the machicolations are found only in the outer faces of the respective gopurams confirming the fact that they were apertures deliberately made for musketry or light canon defence from the hollow inside. This is further proved by the absence of such machicolations on the inner face of the two gopuram which retain their original character, and in the case of the southern gopuram, the original mouldings of the upapitha too is still maintained on

this inner side. The adhishṭhāna above consists of the jagati (upāna lost), vṛitta kumuda, kaṇṭha, paṭṭika, the vedika and wall above. The pilasters on the wall are tall, four-sided with similar capital members in section carrying Choḷa corbel of the bevel-and-tenon type. It is at about half the height of the wall and between the pilasters that the rectangular machicolations straight, sloped down and deflected, made by cutting suitably the ends of the juxta-posed stones of the course to the desired angles and covered over by next upper course of stone work are found. This would mean that the entire stone work was dismantled and the stones of the particular courses cut to size as necessary for the machicolation and then rebuilt. The top of the wall carries a single-flexed kapota and vyalavari of the Choḷa type. The next tier, which was probably of stone, is lost as also the brick-work super-structure above. The provision of musketry defence in the north and south gopurams of the outer wall would clearly indicate that any attack on the garrison inside was expected only from these two quarters. The eastern moṭṭai gopuram would appear to have been built up with brick work, as extant remains would indicate possibly with similar defence arrangements against any such approach from that side.[24] This would also show that the main road to Tiruchchirappaḷḷi from Samayapuram lay to the east of such a fortified temple across the Coleroon and the Kaveri where the water for fording on crossing by coracles (pariśal) of the two rivers will be narrowest near the grand anicut.

All things considered, it is evident that while earlier additions to this temple complex were mostly in the eastern half, and to the east of the principal shrine of Jambunatha, with of course the addition of the ammaṉ shrine unit in the north, the later additions of the Vijayanagar and Nayak periods are found to be on the west. In the light of the above architectural, epigraphical and chronological study, the details given in the unpublished manuscript of the 'Tiruvāṉaikka tiruppaṇi malai' would appear to be mere poetic imagination, with fanciful names of kings as authors of the various parts of the temple.

REFERENCES

1. 'Tiruvāṉaikkā Kumbhabhishēka Malar'(Tiruvāṉaikkā Temple Kumbhabishekam Sovenier), Devasthanam Publication, 1965, p.601.

2. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār - Periya Tirumoḻi, VI, 6; Sekkiḻār Periya Purāṇam, 68-1, 2, 13. See chapter 'Literary Sources', p.252.

3. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 8-10.

4. Ibid., Nos. 1 and 2. The inscription states that the icon is the gift of Devanga Perumaḷ, a Karaṇika (accounts officer) of Viśvanatha Nayaka Virappa Nayakkarayyaṉ of the late 16th century.

5. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 15 and 17 state that the maṇḍapam was built by and named after Ayyaṉ maṇḍapa after Ayyaṉ who is identified as Sadaśiva Dikshitar in ARSIE., 1938, No.15 of A.D. 1655-1715.

6. ARSIE., 1938, No.20. This is confirmed by the presence elsewhere (3rd prakara) of an inscription of Hoysaḷa Vira Ramanatha; ARSIE., 1937-38, No.25, which relates to the construction of the Naṭaraja shrine. Evidently he reconstructed it.

7. The correct name would be Āraviṭṭan gopuram, reminiscent of the Āravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar kings.

8. ARSIE., 1938, No.24 of Rajaraja III Choḷa and No.25. of Hoysaḷa Vira Ramanatha.

9. Ibid., 1891, No.18.

10. Ibid., 1908, Nos. 481 and 482.

11. Ibid., 1938, No.47.

12. Ibid., 1908, No.483.

13. Ibid., 1938, No.75 dated 1435 A.D. For Anna Chavundappa see also SII., XXIV, Śrirangam Inscriptions, Nos.329,331.

14. Ibid., 1891, No.19; Also SII., Vol.4, No.420.

15. James Harle, Temple gateway-of South India,Oxford, 1963, pp. 76 to 80.

16. Ibid.

17. K.R. Venkataraman, Hoysalas in the Tamil country, pp.16-17.

18. ARSIE., 1891, No.18 and 1937, No.119 mentions Someśvara's building of four shrines in the Jambukeśvaram complex viz., Vallaliśvara, Padmaliśvara, Narasimiśvara and Somaliśvara respectively named after his grandfather, grandmother, father and aunt (Somaladevi). His chief and subordinates (ARSIE.,1938, No.25 and 1938, No.44) also added to the complex by way of a Naṭaraja shrine and Paśupatiśvaram with a chaturmukha linga now enclosed by the tirumadil of Rajarajeśvaram presently called Sankaracharya maṭha.

19. K.A.N. Sastri, A History of South India P.215.

20. ARSIE., 1937, No.77.

21. Tiruvanaikka Kumbhabiseka Malar, Devasthanam Publication, 1965, PP. 44-45.

22. ARSIE., 1938, Nos. 53, 66, 68 and 70.

23. Ibid., No.77. This is already referred to earlier in connection with the Sundara Paṇdyan gopuram and construction of transverse wall embracing it.

24. Madras District Gasetteers, Trichinopoly, 1907, p.323. In April 1752, the French established themselves in the Jambukeśvara temple. I am indebted to Shri K.R. Srinivasan for this valuable suggestion.

CHAPTER VII

LITERARY WORKS ABOUT THE TEMPLE

An humble attempt is made to elicit and elucidate the salient features and also the historical evolution of the temple under study with the available literary sources that can be classified into two major divisions such as (1) Prabandha literature and (2) Purāṇic literature in the Tamil language, in this category, the much revered Tirumuṟai which envelopes the twelve grouping of verses (Tirumuṟai) of the inspired souls who have turned the minds of the millions towards the noble path of devotion and piety is included. Besides these saints there are other sets of distinguished poets in different periods of history such as Kāḷamēgham, Arunagiri, Tāymāṉavar, etc.

In Tamilnadu there was effort to focus the peoples attention on the local history of the place, temples, deity etc. probably with a view to infuse in the minds of the people the solidarity and unity of the under current of Indian Culture. So Purāṇic literature based on methology and tradition sprang up, and we have different versions (a list of published and unpublished literary works is appended at the end) of history of this temple in the form of (1) Daṇtivaṉap Purāṇam (2) Tiruvāṉaikkā Purāṇam, etc., and in this chapter these purāṇic and prabandha literature written by 22 poets are examined. Literature which falls within the ambit of post-Nāyak period has been left out as they are of later period.

The Kahētra Veṇbā of Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōṉ is perhaps the first literary link which connects this place to the hoary past. Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōṉ has been identified by some scholars as Siṁhavarmaṉ (586-610 A.D.) of the erstwhile Pallava dynasty who abdicated the throne in favour of his son and embraced ascetic life. The king turned saint seems to have held Tiruvāṉaikkā as one of the important places for getting eternal salvation and his verse on Tiruvāṉaikkā harps on the ephemeral nature of life and the earthly bondage and in addition to these, the necessity to reach the holy feet of the Lord of Teṉ-āṉaikka.[1] This phrase may be understood as referring to the place on the south bank of Koḷḷidam.

The period subsequent to Aiyaḍigal Kāḍavarkōṉ is an important one. This can be called as the period of renaissance so far as the history of Śaivism in Tamil Nāḍu is concerned and during this period the great saints which the Tamilnadu can boast of sang mellifluous hymns popularly known as Tēvāram.

Appar, (Tirunāvukkarasar) the elder contemporary of Tiruñāṉasambandar (c.625 A.D.) was in fact gives the origin of the temple and particularly refers how the spider became

the Chōḷa king in his rebirth by the grace of god.[2] He sang three padigams on Tiruvāṇaikkā. His reference to Seḷunīrttiraḷ [3] explains undoubtedly the character of linga i.e. Appu linga. In another hymn [4] Lord is praised as the incarnation of wisdom and he who seeks his Holy feet will be free from worries. He refers to the temple as Āṇaikkā [5] and Teṇ-Āṇaikkā.[6]

Appar's reference to Piṇ Irakkam Cheyvāṇ [7] is an ancient puranic episode in which the sage Parāśara, grandson of Vasishtha performed the 'abhisārayāga' to take revenge upon the demons and Niruti along with his Bhūta was forcibly dragged by the chanting of the mantras. Śiva on the request of Niruti requested Parāśara to spare the life of the Bhuta, the vehicle of Niruti. And therefore Śiva got this characteristic epithet Piṇ Irakkam Cheyvāṇ, Parāśara seems to have done the Yāga at the end of the North east corner of the temple. It is very interesting to note that even Appar refers to the goddess as Vaḍivēy maṅgai [8] (One whose shoulders resemble that of the beautiful bamboo, a conventional way of describing the nature of lady's shoulders by the Tamil poets.)

The present name Akhilāṇḍanāyaki (one who rules over the universe) seems to have gained currency only after 1260 A.D. for there is a reference in an inscription[9] of Jaṭāvarma Sundara Pāṇḍya I of both Vaḍivēymaṅgai and Akhilāṇḍanāyaki. This strenghthens the view stated earlier that there should have been two shrines namely old and new for the images. A close study of Appar's hymns reveals the social and religious condition of the day and also the contradictory nature of Lord Śiva both in protection and slaying the elephant namely the devotee and the demon.[10] The play on the word Āṇai is very interesting poetically and particularly the aspect of Gajasamhāramūrti is well brought out by the saint. The phrase "Āṇaikkaṇriṇai"[11] indicates the beauty, tenderness and youth, of Lord Śiva at Tiruvāṇaikkā. Secondly it brings out an allusion "Maṇiyāramārbiṇāṇai"[12] according to which the necklace that was lost in the current of Kāvēri, its restoration through a pitcher (Tirumañjanakkūḍam) and the necklace being found in the neck of the God.

Tiruñāṇasambandar (c.650 A.D.) who had the previlege of drinking the wisdom of milk from the very mother of universe rightly describes in three hymns (padigams) the greatness of the Goddess in glorious terms such as Āyḷaiya,[13] Nēriḷaiye.[14] It is contended that the hymns of the great saint has been categorised as "Agapporuḷturai" i.e., love-lorn lady praying for the grace of a beloved lover. The term Āyiḷaiyāḷ, Nēriḷaiyāḷ etc., are used to connote only Akhilāṇḍēśvari who did penance and sought

the divine grace and it should not be construed that it denotes to an ordinary mortal, human love-lorn lady.

Most opine that Tiruñāṉasambandar has given more emphasis to the Goddess than the Lord. The theory that this temple in which Akhilāṇḍēśvari is prominent was more during Tēvāram's time for the simple fact that the phrase Umaiyāḷ Kaṇava[15] Dēvībhāgamāyiṉāṉ[16] Taiyalbhāgamāyiṉāṉ[17] need not necessarily indicate the prominence for Dēvī as we find a number of these references[18] in other temples by the same Śaiva saint Tiruñāṉasambandar.

The present custom of donning the female attire by the Chief priest of the Akhilāṇḍēśvarai temple during the mid-day worship should be taken as an event which was probably witnessed by the saint Tiruñāṉasambandar who translated his vision into sweet verses. He thereby suggests the allusion to the fact that the Goddess herself did penance to elicit the divine grace of the master. Therefore the analytical approach with comparative study of other hymns rightly relegate the misconception conceived by the other scholars. It is interesting to note the historical sense of Tiruñāṉasambandar particularly when he refers to Seṅgaṉāṉ, the author [19] of this temple and also the traditional tusker on which the Lord showered grace. [20] In some of his hymns he refers the deity as Āṉaikkā Aṇṇal,[21] Veṇṇāval amarndu urai Vēdiyaṉ.[22] The latter term clearly shows that Tirunanasambandar was aware of the parable of Jambu Muni. The compasionate aspect of Lord Siva is well brought out by the suggestive and significant phrase "Malaiyār-Midara"[23] (the neck that has got scar of the poison that resembles the colour of the black clouds). It reminds the episode wherein Lord Śiva took pity on Dēvas and swollowed the poison. The existence of the present "Old Jambukēśvaram" (Paḻaiya Jambukēśvaram) adjacent to the main temple bears testimony to the fact that there was an ancient Jambukēśvaram which probably Tiruñāṉasambandar would have referred to as "Ādi Āṇaikkā".[24] Evidences of other writers such as Aruṇagirināthar corraborate the theory. The so called Palaiya Jambukēśvaram [25] is situated in the southern side of the present temple complex and the deity is called Jambukēśvarar even today. It is not known what had actually warranted for building the new temple which has become popular now. In giving interpretation of verses on Tiruvāṇaikkā a few scholars believe that Tiruvārur, Kayilāyam, Mayēndiram are equal in degrees of antiquity and sanctity. But the verses can be interpreted in a different way also. The phrase should be split as "Aṇṇalār ūr Ādi Āṉaikkāvāy" [26] and not as Aṇṇal Ārūr Ādi Āṉaikkāvāy".

Of the Tēvaram trio, Sundarar (C.675 A.D.) also addresses the Lord as "Āṉaikkāuḍai Āḍi".[27] This shows clearly Sundarar held this place of antiquity with great reverence like his predecessors. He also repeats in one of his hymns [28] the annecdote of loosing the necklace in Kāvēri waters and its final restoration to god at the sincere prayer of Chōḻa king of Uṟāiyūr who lost it.

Māṇikkavaśagar (8th century) occupies an unique position for his excellent composition Tiruvasagam. An one of his Ammāṇai-Pāḍal he refers to the deity as 'Teṉ Āṇaikkavanai'[29] 'Tenpāṇḍinaṭṭāṉai'[30] is very significant.

Tiruvāṇaikkā right from the beginning was in Chōla-nāḍu and Māṇikkavāsagar's statement that the deity belong to Teṉ-pāṇḍināḍu provided an indirect reference that Chōla-nāḍu as well as the control of the temple were passed on to the pāndyas. It is to be remembered in this connection that Māṇikkavāsagar was a minister of a pāṇḍya king Varaguna II who became a saint at a later stage.

Kapiladēvar, one of the saints mentions this place as Āṇaiyūr[31] and the deity as Āṇaiyūran[32] in his Śivaperumāṉ tiruvantāḍi whereas another saint Paranadēvar refers to the old name "Āṇaikkā"[33] only.

Śēkkiḻār (12th century) the Śaiva hagiologist gives some additional information about Tiruvāṇaikkā. He refers to this place as Kāmar-pati.[34] He also suplements that the elephant had four tusks (Nārkōttu Nāgam)[35] Airāvateśvara. He relates the stories of the lost necklace[36] and also the spider[37] which attained salvation. He mentions the builder of the temple Kōcheṅgaṇṇāṉ[38] while giving an account of the saints and their association with the temple. The Veṇṇāval tree,[39] the Sthalavṛiksha of the temple is emphasised by Śēkkiḻār

Śēkkiḻār, draws a very beautiful comparison between Seṅgaṇāṉ on one hand and the Lord Seṅgaṇ-viḍaiyār[40] on the other hand. The idea of Śēkkiḻār was perhaps to play and pun on the word "Seṅgaṇ" which means he who has got red eyes or he whose eyes are beautiful and thus Śēkkiḻār reminds the builder of the temple.

While narrating the biography of Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ Śēkkiḻār gives the etymological meaning of Tiruvāṇaikkā[41] and says that the place derived its name because of deep penance and worship by the white elephant of the Lord who was pleased to take his stand under the Veṇṇāval tree.

Kāḷamēgam who lived in 15th century during the reign of Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja[42] had very close connection with the temple under study. It was here, he had a turning point in his life and began to compose verses by the grace of the goddess Akhilāṇḍanāyaki. His illicit love with the Saivite dancing girl of the Tiruvāṉaikkā temple brought him very close to Śaivism from Vaishnavism which he embraced after his miraculous episode of composing the poems. Tiruvāṉaikkā ula was the first composition after his conversion to Śaivism. During his period there was rivalry between Śrīvaiahṇavas and Śaivites. Kāḷamēgam makes caustic remarks about the futility of fighting with each other.[43] His deep sense of humour and imagination are reflected in his stray verses.[44]

His work Tiruvāṉaikkā ula contains a mine of information relating to the name of the temple, names of the main deity and goddess, holy tanks, musical instruments, state of society, etc. We are concerned now with the different names that are given to the presiding deity such as Aḷagukku Kārum-ovvādāṇ. Most of the names are derived from the early authors of Tēvāram nd Periyapurāṇam.

Instead of Vaḍivēymaṅgai for the goddess the author gives Vaḍuvuḍaiya maṅgai[46] along with the other name Akhilāṇḍanāyaki. The name of the place is given as Amutīśvaram,[47] Karivaṇam,[48] Kāvai,[49] Dantivaṉam,[50] Ñaṉabhīmi,[51] Ñaṉanagar,[52] Ām eṉṟa Bhūtalam.[53] Kāvai seems to be the abbreviated form of Tiruvāṇaikkā. The name "Ām eṉṟa Bhūtalam" carries the meaning that the god here is in the form of water.

For the first time we are able to get references to the Navatīrtaṅgaḷ[54] and the gods[55] and ether persons who got salvation on account of taking bath in these holy tanks. Danti pugā vāyil[56] (the entrance in which the elephant cannot enter), Tiruniṟittaṉṉ-madiḷ[57] (the madiḷ which was built by giving vibūti as wages) contain the respective allusions associating the temple. The names are still preserved. He mentions about "Tiruchchālaka Nalam" and "Māvittaka nirutta maṇḍalam"[58] in his ulā. And these show that Kālamēgam was aware of the legends and had incorporated them in his Tiruvāṉaikkā Ulā.

The Tiruvāṉaikkā Ulā gives the origin of the place to which Pushpadanta a gaṇanātha of Lord Śiva was cursed to be born as an elephant and another gaṇanātha Māliyavāṉ to be born as a spider[59] and both prayed Lord Śiva in their own way and attained salvation. The Lord ordered that the place should be hereafter called as Tiruvāṇaikkā.[60] There is a reference in Tiruvāṇaikkā Ulā that the place was so sacred and the famous three saints were afraid of traversing the soil of Tiruvāṇaikkā. Hence

they worshipped the god and sang His praise remaining at a distance.[61] Kālamēgham gives additional information, hitherto unknown that the necklace which was lost in the Kāvēri waters by Uṟaiyūr Chōḻan was the gift of Nāgēsan[62] to the former. He describes the story of Jambu muṇi, white Jambu fruit and the reason that leads to the naming of the deify as Jambunāthar.[63]

Saint Aruṇagirināthar who lived in 15th century carved a covetable niche among the poets who sang devotional songs. Only 14 verses of his Tiruppugal about this place are available. A poet par excellance pours his soul-stirring experiences on Lord Muruga and praises fervently that he should not fall a prey to the vices of sexual fascination or a victim to the alluring and captivating glances of the fair sex of immoral character. But one can see that the basic idea of his poems is to be very close to Lord Muruga and far away from the clutches of earthly pleasures and that is why while describing Lord Muruga, the favourite deity of his theme, Saint Aruṇāgirinathar mentions in a more descriptive way the girls of the bad reputation, prostitutes, dancing girls and other quarters near the Tiruvanaikkā temple complex. For student of architecture, Arunagrināthar gives a vivid description and the exact location of Lord Muruga's shrine in the Tiruvāṇaikkā temple. He says that it is situated near Jambu-tadāgam and within the precincts of Sundarapāṇdiyan madil.[64] Another interesting feature referred to by him in regard to the tradition of the temple which is being kept up even to-day is to see the Lord Tiruvānaikkā through the perforated nine holes in a square slab (Tiruchchālagachchōdi) set up in the middle of the west wall of the central shrine.

The idea behind this practice seems to be that the devotee should have control over all the navarandhras of the body which probably is a yogic practice to get himself in unision with the supreme being. There is another belief also that the nine holes represent nine planets (Navagrahas) which shapes the destiny of the individual.The square slab with nine holes[65] was mentioned by Kālamēgham in his Ulā wherein it is stated that the devotees would get the benefit of bathing in nine tīrthas in the temple. Aruṇagirināthar also sings in praise of Vināyaka[66] probably the present Prasanna Vināyaka opposite to the Akhilāṇḍēsvari shrine. Kāvai,[67] Gajāraṇyam,[68] Kayapati,[69] Karivanam,[70] Śambu(Jambu)kēsvaram are some of the synonyms he gives for Tiruvāṉaikkā.

Except Tiruchālach-chōdi tambirān,[71] Jambunāthar[72] a Sanskritised form, Aruṇagirināthar adopts the other names and mentions the usual traditional episodes of

the temple like his predecessors. While referring to the goddess Aruṇagiri coins a new name namely "Akilam Parandaval"[73] instead of Akhilāṇḍanayaki and thus he brings the pervasiveness of the Śakti aspect of Dēvi. His catholicity towards other religion particularly of Vaishnavism is well manifested when he refers to the annectodes from the Rāmāyaṇa [74] and incidently mentions in his poem that worship was carried on in a better and nice way at Śrīraṅgam. Contrary to the traditional belief it is to be observed here that there is a controversy regarding the interpretation of the term used "Meyttiruniriṭṭanmadil" by Aruṇagirinathar. Some scholars[77] believe that the word "Mey" denotes the real builder of the compound was Lord Śiva in consonance with the traditional belief. But others are of the opinion[78] that the wages were disbursed in proportion to their work in the act of building. Therefore the madil is considered to be the touch-stone for distribution of wages and so it is called mey tiruniriṭṭān madil.

Another poet Tāyumāṇavar flourished in the second quarter of 17th century[79]. He was also the pontifical head of the maṭha called Mauṇaguru-madam named after his preceptor. Drawn by the Yogic-cult of Śaivism, Tāyumāṇavar renunciated the usual marital life in the prime of his youth. The only available verse[80] that comes to us from his pen on this place contains a veiled reference to the story of spider and the elephant.

The Prāṇāvayu seems to have been compared to a vilangu or an animal and the mind to the intoxicated elephant. The significant choice of words nigaḷam and yāṇai probably bears an allusion to the above episode and in praising the goddess, the poet-saint remainds us of the benefaction from the mother to Kāḷamēgham though not in explicit terms and it makes us understand that Tāyumāṇavar was aware of the early puranic episodes of the temple.

The impact and importance of the goddess during his period on the minds of the pious public are amply corroborated when we read in between the lines of this single verse in praise of the universal mother Akhilāṇḍanāyaki.[81] Kāvai[82] continued to be the abbreviated form,connoting Tiruvāṇaikkā.

Now we come to a very important period in the history of Tamilnadu and more particularly in the history of the temple. Roughly this period can be assigned to the 16th century in which the growth of puranic literature could be witnessed just like mushrooms. The two important puraṇic literature pertaining to this temple are 1. Danti-vanappuranam; (2) Tiruvāṇaikkappuraṇam. But derived their themes from the Sanskrit literature Padma-puraṇam and with a view to popularise local importance,

sanctity, sacredness to the common man, they were written in regional language namely Tamil. In this endeavour, Dantivanappuraṇam written by Kamalai Jñanapprakaśar in 1566 A.D[83]. definitely carry the theme in a lucid, simple and direct way whereas the author of Tiruvaṇaikkapuranam[84], Kachchiyappa Munivar written in 1783 A.D. imparts the same story with a little flourish and exageration in style and diction, probably these additions and alterations may be due to the fact that the main theme of Dantivanappurana had already made a dent in the minds of the devotional public and therefore the writer Kachchiappa Munivar stressed more on diction, style, embeilishment and ornamentation.

A critical analysis of the two puraṇas though written within a gap of 200 years i.e. between 16th and 18th centuries, reveals three important and basic principles on which generally these sthala-puraṇas are written. The sanctity of the place[85](sthalam). sacredness of waters (tirtham), and the divinity of deity (murti)[87]. As already stated we can cite evidence that Tiruvanaikka-puraṇam do contain information regarding Gauthama, Kubera, etc., and their association with this temple. Kachchiyappa munivar has given an eloborate treatment of these personages and their fruitful mission or the results of their endeavour in having the dip in the holy tanks that are enumerated in detail in additional padalams(Cantos). Secondly Dantivaṇap-puraṇam is catholic in character but Tiruvaṇaikkapuraṇam contains introlerant references and religious perversity[88]. Dantivaṇapuraṇam gives a long list of fairs and festivals but Tiruvaṇaikkapuraṇam while giving the same list adds piquancy and colour and with information about the contemporary society[89].

If we broadly devide, we are able to know two fundamental things ; (1) The temple and (2) the society. As we have already stated Dantjvanap puraṇam follows very closely the heels of the Sanskrit literature or we can say in other words it is a Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit Puraṇa but we are able to feel the pulse of the society. On the contrary, from Tiruvāṇaikkāpurānam we are able to infer that the society had completely changed and even in narration of the Purāṇam, "Tiruvāṇaikkāpurāṇam" is packed with attractive embellishments for mass appeal and also the writer's intolerance to other sects is embodied in the composition.

In the following period, though not to be covered by this thesis, the authors and their works are noticed here.

1. Mahavidvan Minakshi sundaram Pillai (1815-76 A.D.)	a. Akhilandanayaki malai b. Akhilandanayaki Pillai tamil.

2. Dandapanisvamigal
a. Padigangal (36)
b. Yamaka antadi (12)
c. Vinnappamalai (10)
d. Tiruppugal(7)

3. Manonmani Ammaiyar
a. Tiruvanaikka antadi.

4. Kuttur Subbaiar
a. Tiruvaṇaikka Padirruppattu antadi

5. Uraiyur Periyasvami Pillai.
a. Padirruppattu antadi.

6. Seshachala Nayudu
a. Tiruvanaikka mummaṇikkovai.

7. Evvalur Ramasamy Chettiar.
a. Tiruvaṇaikka Amutalingasar Padigam.
b. Paduma bhandham.

8. Singara Vedivel Vanniyamundar.
a. Tiruvaṇaikka antadi
b. Akhilaṇḍanayaki padigam

9. Velayuda Svamigal
a. Akhilaṇḍa nayaki padigam
b. Akhilaṇḍanayaki Pirartanai padigam.
c. Akhilaṇḍa nayaki Neriśai Venba.

10. Appulingam
a. Kavai Murugan Piḷḷaittamiḷ

An interesting feature is that a member of the fair sex, Maṇonmaṇi Ammaiyar[92] figures in the galaxy of poets mentioned above. During this period a striking feature which we can notice is that more importance is given to the goddess Akhilāṇdndanāyaki than the presiding deity of the temple contrary to the earlier practice as evidenced by the works of the period. It is not out of place to add here that even the great pontifical head of the Kāmakoṭi pītha sang only in praise of the goddess in his Śrī Mātruka Pushpamala Stuti.[93]

REFERENCES

1. Patinoram Tirumurai, Śaiva Siddhantha Nurpattippu Kalagam, Madras (1971), Verse 5.11, P.37.
2. Śilandiyum Anaikkavil Tirunilar Pandar-cheydu ulandavan irandapode Kochchenga nanumaga kalandanir kavirisiḷ Sonattuch Choḷartangaḷ kulattinrr Pirappittuittar kurukkai Virattanare-kurukkai. Muvar Tevaram, Talamurai, ed. T.M. Kumarakurubaram, Sri Kumarakurubaram Sangam (1968) Verse 26.4, p.255. Tiruvanaikkavilor Śilantikkaal-Kudandai Kilkottam, Ibid., Verse 27.8. p.555.
3. Ibid., Verses 60. 1-10, pp. 439-41.

4. Ibid., Verse 60. 2, p.436.

5 Ibid.. Verses 60. 1-10, pp. 434-36.

6. Ibid., Verses 60.5, 7, 9, PP. 437-38.

a.Achchiramaṉṉa Karumanaikkavam (Nagai Karonam)
b.Teṉṉanaikavum Śirappalḷium-Adigai.
c.Ayyaru maruru manaikkavum (Alaṅgaḍu) .

7. Ibid., Verse 60.3, P.439.

8. Ibid., Verse 60.10, p.438.

9. ARSIE., 1891, No.32; SII., Vol.IV, No.433, 1.4.

10. Muvar Teveram, Talamuṛai ed., T.M.Kumaragurubaran Pillai, Kumaragurubaran Sangam, Srivaikundam (1968) Verse 60. 1, p.438.

11. Ibid., Verse 60.1, p.438.

12. Ibid., Verse 60.4, p.439; Ibid., Verse 6.10, p.1108.

Semponninaram Puṇavanindan kan (Tirupputur)

13. Muvar Tevaram, Talamurai, Śri Kumarakurubaran Sangam,

Śrivaikundam (1968), Verses 60.5, 8-10, pp. 430-31.

14. Ibid., Verse 60.6, p.430.

15. Ibid., Verse 60.1, p.431.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., Verse 60.10, p.432.

18. Ibid., Verse 54.2, p.698.

19. "Śengat peyar koṇḍavan Śembiyarkon Aṅkaṭ karuṇai pertayavanay" Muvar Tevarm Talamurai,ed., by T.M.Kumarakurubaran sri Kumarakurubaran Sangam (1968) Verse 60.5, p.430.

20. Viraṇmikka Karikkaruḷ seitavaṉai. Ibid.,

Verse 60.4, p.430.

21. Ibid., Verse 60.1, p.431.

22. Ibid., Verse 60.11, p.431.

23. Ibid., Verse 60.1., p.430.

24. Ibid., Verses 60.1-5; P.433; 60. 7-9, P.434.

25. A similar incidence can be seen in the case of Tiruvellarai temple where there are old and new temples (Adi TiruVellarai in one and the same temple) bearing the same name.

26. *Muvar Tevaram, Talamurai, ed., by T.M.Kumarakurubaran, Śrikumarakurubaran_sangam (1968), Verse 60.1. p.433.*

27. Ibid., Verses 60. 1-10, pp. 441-42.

28. Ibid., Verse 60.7, p.442.

29. Tiruvachagam, ed., by Ramanatha Pillai, Śaiva Siddhanta Nurpattippu Kalagam, Madras, p.258.

30. Ibid.

31. Patinoram Tirumurai, Śaiva Siddhanta Nurpatippu Kalagam, Madras (1971), Verse 22. 41, p.187.

32. Ibid., Verse, 22. 41, p.187.

33. Ibid., Verse 23. 26, p.201.

34. Tiruttondar Makkadai, ed., by Ramantha Pillai, Śaiva Siddhanta Nurpatippu Kalagam, Madras (1970) Verse 347, p.412.

35. Ibid., Verse 345, p.412.

36. Ibid., Eyarkon Kalikkama nayanarpuranam, verse 76, p.579

37. Ibid., Tirunavukkarasu nayanar puranam, verse 302, p.295

38. Ibid., Tiruñanasambanda murti Nayanar-puranam, Verse 345, P.412.

39. Ibid., Verse 345, p.412.

40. Ibid., Tirunavukkarasu nayanar puranam, verse 301, p.295.

41. Ibid., Kochchangat Cholar Puranam, verses 2-3, p.811.

42. His patron Tirumalairaja has donated the Tiruvabharanam to JambukeŚvarar. The poet Kalamegham's date is being fixed on the sole evidence of this inscription.

43. Śrirangattarum Tiruvanaikkavarum poranga magap poruvaten-orangal vendam idenna vivaran teriyado Andanum tadanum annal (Tiruvannaikka ula), ed. by M. Arunachalam, Chokkanathapuram, 1964, Intro., p.29.

44. Kallal adittadarko kalal udaittadarko villai additadarko vetkinir-solviral nañjuddaiyanai Chulum madilanai kavarai nañjutanai tinraden mun nal. Ibid., Intro., p.29.

45. Verse 75, P.20.

46. Ibid., Verse 115, P.30.

47. Ibid., Verse 29, p.8.

48. Ibid., Verse 374, p.79.

49. Ibid., Verse 65, P.18.

50. Ibid., Verse 223, P.51.

51. Ibid., Verse 8, p.3.

52. Ibid., Verse 64, p.17.

53. Ibid., Verse 24, p.7.

54. Ibid., Verse 56, p.15.

55. Ibid., Intro., p.33. Agni, Indira, Yama, Rati, Rama, Rudra, Gandharva, Kali, Kubera, Satta, Surya, Tirumal, Durga, Brahma, Muruga, Vasukkal, Varuṇa, Vayu, Vinayaka, Vairava.

56. Ibid., Verse 56, p.15.

57. Ibid., Verse 77, p.20.

58. Ibid., Verse 57, p.16. Mavittaga Nirutta maṇḍapam may be Naṭaraja maṇḍapam. Also Ibid., Intro., p.32.

59. According to the tradition the spider seems to havebeen born as "Sengat' Choḻar" to the queen Puṭpavatiand Choḷa king Subhadeva. The queen is variously called in the later puranic works (Dantivanappuranam,ed., by V. Veeraswami, Madras, 1981; Śilandi Muḍina Sarukkam, verse 551, PP. 198-99) as Kamalavati.Pushpavati is a generic name and Kamalavati is nodoubt the name of a flower. Kochchengeṭ Choḷan means the red eyed Choḷa king. The redness is attributed to his over stay in his mother's womb. Tiruvaṉaikka Ula, ed., by M. Arunachelam, Chokkanathapuram (1964),Intro., p.25.

60. Mikka Kaḷiṟalaṟi viḻlach Chilandiyum aṅgu okka iṟakka Umaipāgar-ak-kaṇame yarum-eṉa eḻuppi varaṇattukk-appaloḍu Śerum Śivalogach-chiraruḷi-uriṉ per Aṉaikka akki aruḷa. Ibid., Verses (49-51), P.14.

61. .... Innagarin Maṉṉum Śivaliṅgam Eṉṟeṉṉi varamar paṇṇuṇḍu Śol-Muvar paṅgaga kaṇṇuṟṟu ninrettum Pak-kondan Nidanbu poṉmalarai Naṉtrettum ñana Nagariṉoṉ Ibid., Verses 63-64, p.17.

62. Ibid., Verses 64-65, P.18. ...... aṉṟuruga ṉ Maṅgaik kaḷitta Maṇivaram kavaiumai paṅkar kaḷagaṉ parikkaveṇa.

63. Ibid., Verses 17-18, p.6. ...... Muṇi puŚitta ñana-bhumikkaṉ teḷi Brahma Puṭkaraṇi tirat (tu)-oḷira iruppa in-Niḷaeiley vamuraiyom eṉṉa. The first part of the name Jambuka is probably derived from Jambu and stands for the dimunitive form of the tree.

64. Tuṅga Gajaraṇiyattil-uttama sambu tadagam-adutta dakshiṇa sundara maṟan-madiḷ-puṟatt-urai perumaṉe Tiruppugaḷ, Tiruppugaḷamirtha Kariyalayam, Madras (1968), Verse 505, P.340.

65. Tiruvaṇaikka Ula ed., by M.Arunachalam, Chokkanathapuram (1944) Verse 57, P.16.

66. Tiruppugal, Tirupugalamirtha Kariyalayam, Madras, (1968), Verse 505, p.339.

67. This abbreviated form was already mentioned by Kalamegham and this shows that Kalamegham and Aruṇagirinathar are probably contemporaires. Ibid., Verse 508, p.341.

68. Ibid.,Verse 505, P.339.

69. Ibid., Verse 505, P.339.

70. Ibid., Verse 514, p.346.

71. Ibid., Verse, 510, p.343.

72. Ibid., Verse, 514, p.346.

73. Ibid., Verse 511, P.343.

74. Ibid., Verse 502, p.337.

75. Ibid., Verse 514, p.346.

76. Ibid., Verse 504, p.339.

77. T.M. Narayanasamy Pillai, Tiruvaṇaikka-k-kovil, Madras University (1976), p.30.

78. Murugaveḷ Panniru Tirumuṟai, ed., by Sengalvaraya Pillai (Madras), pp. 160-61, f.n.

79. Tayumanava aḍigal Tiruppaḍal, ed., by Ramanatha Pillai, Śaiva Siddhanta Nurpattippu Kalagam (1966), Intro., p.36.

80. Ibid., Verse 38, p.505. Vaṭṭamiṭṭu olir piraṇa-vayuv-eṇu nigalamoḍukamṇam cheyum maṇam-eṇum periya matta vaṇaivai.

81. Ibid., Verse 38, p.505.

82. Ibid., Verse 38. p.505.

83. Daṇtivanappuraṇam ed., by V. Veeraswami, Madras, (1981), Intro., p.18.

84. Tiruvaṇaikkapuranam, ed., by M.V. Ramanujachariar, Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, Intro., p.III.

85. Mere thinking of this place will result in getting rid off the sins and by seven steps of walking towards the direction of this place will give salvation Dantivana Puraṇam, ed., by V.Veeraswami, Madras (1981) Intro., p.49.

86. The Nava-tīrthas that are enumerated are Brahmā, Sūrya, Rāma, Chandra, Jambu, Agastya, Indra, Agni and sīrmai. It is the tendency of the people to associate these tirthas with the celestial gods and invariably the legends that are connected with these gods are of some interest. The sins that were committed by these gods and their frantic search to wash off their sins by taking bath in these holy waters are some of the parabels or lessons that the human beings on earth who commit or who have committed acts of sins will get similar redresses and relefs by following their heavenly counterparts. With this main idea the crimes of adultery committed by Brahma, Chandra, Sūrya and Agni and the intentional or unintentional acts of killing of foes by Rama and Indra will get acquittal from the sins from the heinuous crimes. The other tirthas such as Jambu, Agastya and Sīrmai (Śrimat) are sacred tanks which would bestow benefits of general nature such as longievity, health and prosperity. Probably, of all these tirthas, Jambu-tirtha is considered to be the most sacred as the place itself is called Jambukeśvaram associating itself with the sage Jambu and that is why even the act of seeing and sprinkling of the waters of this tank is held to be holiest. Ibid., Intro PP. 58-60.

87. Water is the indispensable element and it is one of the first and foremost of the five elements (Pañcha Bhutas). Even the creator Brahma is said to have created water as the first element according to the evidence of Rigveda. Therefore it is apparent that the appu-liṅga or the linga made of water is as old as the creation of that element. Ibid., Intro., p.46 f.n.

88. Dandivaṉappuraṇam, ed., by Veeraswami, Madras (1981) Intro., p.110.

89. Ibid., PP. 56-57.

90. Ibid., P.87.

91. Ibid., PP. 87-89.

92. Tiruvaṉaikka-koyil, T.M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, university of Madras (1976), p.39.

93. Dantivaṉappuraṇam, ed., by V. Veeraswami, Madras, (1981), p.89.

CHAPTER IX

TOPOGRAPHY AND TOPONYM

The study of toponym and topography is very important in not only knowing the territorial but also integrity of a country or nation. According to Hindu mythology the first measure of the entire universe was measured by Lord Vishnu and in Tamil country the first to introduce a definite demarcation and defining the boundaries was Rajaraja, the great. Tiruvaṇaikka being in the heart of the Choḷamandalam or the land of the Cholas naturally come within the purview of geographical or territorial unit of the Choḷa kings. The Choḷa kings as a matter of fact for the sake of administrative convenience divided their empire into so many divisions and sub-divisions such as nadu, vaḷanadu, kurram, mandalam etc. Even the smallest unit such as taniyur or pidagai did not escape their notice. In naming the features of the land which were under the Choḷas, they named them after their legendary predecessors, or after their titles. Now we are unable to know anything about the Pallava period from inscriptions. But in Choḷa, Hoysala, Paṇdya, Vijayanagara and Nayaka period, Tiru- vanaikka and its environs were named differently. The aim of this chapter is to study the evolution of these names against this background.

Tiruvaṇaikka is referred to in most of the early Choḷa inscriptions as Paṇḍikulaśani vaḷanaṭṭu Viḷa naṭṭu Tiruvaṇaikka, i.e. Tiruvaṇaikka in the division of Viḷa-naḍu in Paṇḍikulaśani-,vaḷanaḍu, and Paṇḍikulaśani being the major division derived its name from the Characteristic title of the Choḷa king Rajaraja I. Paṇḍikulaśani means the thunderbolt to the Paṇdyakula or dynasty.

The classification vaḷanaḍu was perhaps made by Rajaraja I probably on the fertility of the soil and the proximity to the river. This inference is strengthened by the fact that all the valanaḍus are very close to the river banks, this side or that side. Paṇḍi kulaśani vaḷa- naḍu is not an exception to this for it is bound by Keraḷantaka-vaḷanaḍu in west, Rajaraja-vaḷanaḍu in east and it extended in the west as far upto Karur, the capital city of Cheras and in North it comprised severalvillages as far as Thiruvaiyaṛu[3]. As already observed the division owes its origin to Rajaraja I's title born of his victory over the Paṇdyas and naming of the divisions after his title is very significant. The very name gives the king's subjugation of his enemy, the Paṇdyas and more specifically Amarabhujanga whose date is roughly arrived at by his contemporary Cheras king Bhaskara Ravi Varman Tiruvadi (978-1036 A.D.). Therefore, to be more precise in giving the date for this division on circumstantial evidences, we may say 988 A.D. i.e. some time after the defeat of the Pandya king in the 3rd regnal year of Rajaraja I (985-1014 A.D.)

Roughly after a long period of 250 years or when Māravarman Sundara Paṇḍya I (1216-39 A.D.) rang the death knell to the Choḷa power and took control over Tiruvaṇaikka and other places in and around, he frowned on the name of the division and to wipe out the disgrace, he issued inscriptions[6] from Tiruvaṇaikka by renaming the division as Paṇḍyakulapati which means the Lord of the Paṇḍya family. Thus the name which was in vogue for more than 250 years was changed by the might of arms of the conqueror in the conquered territorry in 1222-23 A.D. But however, we have to note here that one of his successors Maṛavarman Kulasekhara I[7] did not dare to change this traditional and conventional name of this division which shows either his timidness or partial control over the conquest. On the contrary, we notice Jatavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I inscriptions[8] give the Pandyan name while the inscriptions[9] belonging to choḷa contemporaries the division is referred to only by its original choḷa name. This can be illustrated well by the inscriptions of the Hoysalas who inspite of their fluctuating friendship with choḷas and Pandyas during this period and inspite of the fact that their capital, Kaṇṇanur was very near to (Tiruvaṇaikka) this division, they did not dare to antoganise in renaming and instead, they adopted the conventional or popular name that was prevalent i.e. Paṇḍikulaśani. Therefore, we notice in the same year (1260 A.D.) that the division is referred to in Jaṭavarmaṉ Sundara Paṇḍya I's inscription as Paṇḍiyakulapati whereas in Vira Ramanatha's inscription as Paṇḍikulaśani vaḷanaḍu though the interval between the two is less than three months[11]. The division is referred to in Nāyaka inscriptions[12] as Paṇḍyakulapati-vaḷanaḍu.

The generic term 'nāḍu' is a division which denotes the political or geographical boundary. Some times it gets the name of a particular village in the respective nāḍu prefixed to it for better understanding and demarcating the exact boundaries[13]. In such cases it is very easy for us to find out the derivation of a particular nāḍu. But at the same time it is not at all possible to know the derivation of a naḍu in some cases. For instances we may quote 'viḷanāḍu' which we come across often in Tiruvaṇaikka inscriptions suggesting that the place was within the limits of this nadu. Further we don't find a village by name 'Viḷa' anywhere near Thiruvaṇaikka. In explaining this nomenclature, we have to infer that 'Viḷa' is a smaller but natural division compared to vala-nāḍu which is artificial. The 'naḍus' except in few cases, did not have natural boundaries[14].

We come across Migōḷai in Tiruvaṇaikka inscription[15]. Scholars are of the opinion that 'Mi' stands for "Merku" and Koḷai stands for Uṛaiyur. On account of Western position to Uṛaiyur geographically, 'Mikoḷai' has been taken to mean the villages that are to the West of Uṛaiyur[16]. But this supposition has been rejected by Y. Subbarayalu on the grounds that the four villages which

were in Migoḷai including Tiruvāṇaikkā are to the north east and east of Uraiyur. His solution to this problem is very convincing and it is as follows. He says Viḷanāḍu seems to be the variant or abbreviated form of Viḷattur-nāḍu in the Eastern sector in Choḷamaṇḍalam. Perhaps to distinguish between the two, the one near Uṟaiyur was given the prefix Mikoḷai, which at times was used separately to indicate one and the same nāḍu[17]. Hence Mikoḷai cannot be treated as a separate nāḍu. The division Viḷa-nāḍu is mentioned as Viḷa-nāḍu in Tiruvāṇaikkā inscription[18] during Nāyaka period.

Tiruvāṇaikkā in some of the inscriptions[19] is referred to as brahmadeya or devadāna brahmadeya. This expression brahmadeya denotes the category to which it belongs namely that it was given to brahmanas but it in noway denotes to the classification of a geographical division. Our aim in this chapter is to study the classification and not the categorisation such as gift of village etc.

When an attempt to study the various names given to Tiruvāṇaikkā and when we trace the history of these forms periodwise such as literary, puranic and other recent works, we are left to believe that in course of time from the Saṅgam period down to Nāyaka period, we get host of names woven round on the basis of legends and the purāṇas etc. The evolution and synonyms are dealt in detail on chapters like religion and literary sources. For instance we may quote[20] that the place derived its name Tiruvanaikkā because of deep penance and worship by the white elephant of the Lord who was pleased to take his stand under the 'Veṇṇāval' tree. Tiruvaṇaikka seems to be the ancient name carried on through the ages as evidenced by all the Tamil inscriptions from this temple upto the period of Nāyakas, though the other sources give different names.

The nomenclature of the place names in Viḷanāḍu are dealt in detail in a tabular form which is appended at the end of this chapter.

The names of villages are traceable in the incriptions of Tiruvāṇaikkā as covered by Viḷanāḍu. All of them except two cannot be identified. A few more places under this nāḍu are known from other inscriptions and they are Choḷamahādevi (57/SII-2), Erumbiyūr alias Śrikaṇṭha-cm (97/14), Karaikkuḍi (141/SII. 13), (119/47-48), Koṟṟai-maṅgalam (32/48-49), Kukūr (368/SII.6), Malari(69/SII.2,136/14), Mummudichoḷa-ch chaturvedimaṅgalam (80/36-37) Murukkūr (556/SII.8), Nagaikkumaṅgudi alias Rājendra Choḷapuram (146/38-39), Śasana-maṅgalam (415/61-62), Tiruppaḷuvur (117, 141 SII. 13, 351/18), Tiruvaraṅgam or Tirumudikkuṟai (14, 63, 18/36-37, 131/38-39). Among these ten villages have been identified with their modern counterparts Choḷamādevi, Tiruveṟumbūr, Kūkūr,Marukkūr, Veṅgur, Paḷūr, Śrīraṅgam.

LIST OF PLACES IN TIRUVANAIKKA FROM THIS TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS

1. Pōsala-Vīra-Narasimhachchaturvēdimaṅgalam (ARSIE.,1937, No.118, Vīra Somēśvara).

2. Koṇḍaiyanpēṭṭai (ARSIE., 1937, No.130, Vīrappa-Nāyaka, presently called by the same name.

LIST OF VIḶAGAM, MAḌIL, NANDAVANAM TOPPU ETC. (Undidentifiable).

1. Tiruputiyāṭu viḷagam (AREP., 1891, No.28, Vīra Somēśvara; AREP., 1891, No.25, Māṟavarman Kulasekhara I).

2. Marittulagamkāṭṭaṉ-viḷagam (AREP., 1891, No.32, Jatavarma Sundara paṇḍya I).

3. Tiruniṟitiaṉ-tirumadiḷ (ARSIE., 1937, No.130, Virappa Nāyaka, presently called by the same name).

4. Siruttoṇḍar nandavaṇam (AREP., 1891, No.28, Vīra Somēśvara).

5. Sedirayaṉ tirunandavaṉam (ARSIE ., 1938, No.30 Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I).

6. Silaṉtiyai Chōḻanākkiṉaṉ tiruttoppu (ARSIE., 1891, No.25, Māṟavarman Kulasekhara I).

7. Ādichchelvan tiruttōppa (ARSIE., 1937, 118, Vīra Somēśvara).

8. Koṅgan-peruvaḷi (AREP., 1891, No.32, Jaṭāvarma Sundara Pāṇḍya I.)

9. Siddhar-koil (AREP.,1891, No.25, Māṟavarman Kulasekhara I.)

A brahmadēya village was constituted around Tiruvāṇaikkā by Vīra Narasimha himself on by his son Vīra Somēśvara in his father's name as Pōsala. Vīra Narasimha chaturvēḍimaṅgalam. This is based on the expression "it tirupati-agaram posala Vīra-Narasimha Chaturvēḍimaṅgalam" while referring to Tiruvāṇaikkā. But strangely enough we do not get a single record recording this fact or the delibrations of any sabha which must have been functioning.

Kaṇḍaiyanpēṭai seems to have been so named after a Nāyaka chief Koṇdaya or Kandama. This was a part of Tiruvāṉaikkā where members of all castes were living together and were maintaining shops selling merchandise (pēṭṭai). Among the other localities listed tiruppudiyadu viḷāgam was the name of the area newly laid out around the temple; Maṟittulagam kāttāṉ vilagam was probably the name of another area so named after the title Jāṭavarma Sundara Paṇḍya I in whose reign the inscription mentioning the name is dated; tiruniṟiṭṭāṉ tirumadiḷ (Vide discussion in Architecture - p.221); Siruttoṇḍar-nandavaṇam and sēdirāyaṉ tirunandavaṉam were evidently named after the famous śaiva devotee and a distinguished officer under the Chōḷa or Pāṇḍya respectively; Silantiyai Chōḷanākkināṉ tiruttōppu (Vide discussion in religious history p.101). Ādichchelvan-tiruttōppu seems to be related to some famous dignitary or the God himself and it is to be noted that an old treasury in the temple (now traceable opposite to the Akhilāṇḍēśvari shrine) was called Ādichchelvan paṇḍāram. Koṅgaṉ-peruvaḻi is probably the name of a highway passing through Tiruvāṉaikkā to the Koṅgu country; Siddhar kōil was apparently a shrine dedicated to a Siddha whose identity is obscure.

LIST OF VILLAGES IN VILANADU FROM TIRUVANAIKKA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS

S.No.	Name of the village	Modern Name	Reference
1.	Āḷikuḍi	Aḷikuḍi	ARSIE.,1891,No.31. Kulōttuṅga I (1116-17 AD).
2.	Muṭṭaipāḍi	-	ARSIE., 1938, No.28, Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I.
3.	Pāgaṉkuḍi.	-	-do-
4.	Pudukkuḍi	-	ARSIE., 1908, Nos.486,and 487.
5.	Taṇḍaṉkuṟai	Taṇḍankorai	ARSIE., 1903, No.62. Rājarāja III 1245 A.D.
6.	Uttamasīlichchaturvēdimangalam.	Uttamachēri or Tiruppalaturai, Tiruchirapaḷḷi taluk	ARSIE., 1891, No.31 Kulōttuṅga I (1116-17 AD.) ARSIE., 1908, Nos.486 & 487
7.	Vēṇkōṇkuḍi		AREP., 1891, No.30. Valaka-Kāmaya 1482 A.D.
8.	Vīratoṅgapuram.		ARSIE., 1938, No.28. Jatavarma Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

REFERENCES

1. ARSIE., 1891, No.23; Ibid., 1938, No.37.
2. K.A.Nilakanda Sastri, The Cōlas, p.186.
3. Y. Subbarayalu, Political Geography of the Chola country (1973), pp.60-61.
4. T.V.Sadasivappandarattar, History of the Later Cholas (1973), p.95
5. K.A. Nilakanda Sastri, Op.cit., p.169.
6. ARSIE., 1938, No.21.
7. Ibid., 1891, No.25.
8. Ibid., 1891, No.32 (28th April 1260 A.D.); Ibid., No.24; Ibid., 1938, No.28.
9. Ibid., 1937, No.117.
10. Ibid., 1938,No.4 (12th June, 1269 A.D.)
11. Ibid., 1891, No.32 (28th April, 1260 A.D.)
    Ibid.,1938, No.12 (14th July, 1260 A.D.)
12. Ibid., 1937, No.136 (20th November, 1595 A.D.)
13. Y. Subbarayalu, Op.cit., p.31.
14. Ibid., p.22
15. ARSIE., 1891, No.31.
16. Y. Subbarayalu, Op.cit., p.47.
17. Ibid.
18. ARSIE., 1937, No.136
19. ARSIE., 1891, No.31, Ibid., 1937, No.108;
    Ibid., No.110.
20. Tiruttondar Mākkadai, ed., by Ramanatha Pillai, Madras (1970) p.811.

RESUME

The thesis which is in nine chapters deals with the evolution and growth of the temple in different facets.The history of the temple and place is traced with the help of all the available epigraphical materials both published and unpublished. Literary sources are fully utilised either to corroborate or rebut the conclusions drawn on. A bird's eye view of this temple Architecture forms a separate chapter. The following is the gist of the nine chapters.

The topography of the island where it is located is discussed with a view to explain the increasing dependency of the temple on the lands outside the island. Regarding the ancient name Tiruvāṇaikkā, the inscriptional and literary account is considered as the basis. With reference to the modern name Jambukēśvaram, the evidence of the sthala vṛiksha is made use of.
In the chapter on political background, the early period of the history of Tiruvāṇaikkā is traced from Tamil literature and from the epigraphs available from adjoining places.

Three kings bearing the names Kochcheṅgaṇṇan are identified. The first is placed in the early centuries, co-eval with the period of Sangam classics. The second is considered to be a predecessor of the three Śaiva saints. The third is placed to have lived in time later than those of the three Śaiva saints on the basis of the recently discovered Velanjeri plates of Parantaka I. Kochchengaṇṇan, the author of the temple is identified as the second king mentioned above.

The next lustrous period when we get more information on Tiruvāṇaikkā falls in the 13th century when this area became the cockpit of the fight between the Hoysaḷas, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The Hoysala's extraordinary interest in Tiruvāṇaikkā on account of its proximity to Kaṇṇaṇur, their capital is explained. The continued interest in the temple maintained by the Vijayanagara and Nayak at later times is also dealt in detail. The political pacts as gleaned from the temple epigraphs during the Chōḷa period is discussed. The important political events occured during different periods have been eloborately discussed on the basis of this temple records and the conclusions are given at the end of individual dynastic chapters.

The chapter on Economic History, explains the growth of Tiruvāṇaikkā temple on account of continuous partronage of the people and the kings and a comparison is also drawn with the huge economic history of the Śrīrangam

temple as far as the evidences would lead us to trace the missing links in the economic history of our temple during the Cho̤la period. The sudden spurt in the purchase of extensive lands in the North Bank of Kollidam and the intensive building activities of the Hoysalas at Tiruvaṇaikka are examined to explain intensive activities, of the labour in the temple leading to the improvement of its economy. It is also found that whenever the temple sold devadana lands lying unutilised for a long time, the temple saw to it that the ownership was not transferred without securing adequate benefits to itself. This arrangement has given maximum benefit to the temple.

Inspite of the paucity of inscriptions from the early period, an attempt is made to explain how the endowments made in the temple changed in course of time - sheep for lamp; lands for the maintenance of various services; lands sold on favourable terms and purchased from fertile areas and the jewels endowed by the Pandya and Nayaka kings. It is found that lands were sold at higher price during the later period of Cho̤la Rajaraja III (1216 - 46 A.D.) as gleaned from the epigraphs of the king from this temple record.

Among the levies, the taxes collected to pay off the Hoysala general and the term Vibutikkaṇikkai are explained. The latter is understood as a contribution from the land owners including the temple towards the enjoyment and prosperity of the king. It is found that no exemption was granted in respect of this tax. The precision in land measurement is explained on the basis of a statistical study of the extants of land owned by the temple.

In the Chapter on the religious history, the details of different sects of Śaivism such as Paśupata, Virasaiva, Śaiva siddhanta, Brahmanical at Tiruvaṇaikka preaching their own doctrines depending upon the circumstances and patronage by the royalty. The fact that number of shrines raised by the Hoysaḷas in this temple and the fact that so such shrines have not been raised by the same dynasty in the Renganatha temple reflects their leanings more towards Śaivism. This shows that the Hoysaḷas continued to encourage Śaivism even as their ally the Cho̤las had been doing for centuries. The religious conflict between Saivism and Vaishnavism during the year 1375 A.D. and the favouritism shown to Saivism and how the dispute between the religions was solved are all well brought out from the epigraphs and literary evidences. The important role of the maṭhas in feeding the seekers of knowledge leading to the dissemination of the philosophical tenets, the emergence of Paśupata cult in the much later period in a reformed manner by associating a married man in the place of a celibate and the

origin of the maṭhas are discussed wherever sources are available.

The chapter on Temple administration deals with the evolution from the sabha to the emergence of tāṉattar in the administrative set up of the temple on the basis of the inscriptions. The role played by the temple servants in unison symbolised by citing Chaṇḍēśvara as the foremost servant of the deity and as the leader is explained by discussing the format of documents where these ideas are expressed. The gradual decline of the influence of the brahmana members of the sabha is pointed out. The role of Paṉmāhēśvaras during the period of Devaraya II in restoring worship has been brought out.

The chapter on Architecture seeks to explain every part of the temple with reference to its place in the evolution of Architecture of the temple through the ages. A distinction is explained between the renovated and the retained parts of the temple sometimes in some cases on the basis of inscriptions and in some other cases on the basis of their occurance in the general evolution in the Tamil country. Āgamic concepts have helped in defining the Architecture of the temple. Care has been taken to fix the period of construction of the individual components of the temple.

The chapter on the Literary works pertaining to this temple deals the names of place, temple and deity through ages. It is placed next with a view to highlight the effect of the religious centre on contemporary men of letters. The social and religious life of the people in different periods in this area are highlighted.

The chapter on Topography and Toponymn deals with the names of the locality and attempt has been made to identify as many of them as possible. The rationale behind some of the names are also given.

The appendices have been given at the end with a view to complete the account. The first one Pujas and festivals deals with the festivals that were conducted in the past and all the festivals presently conducted. The second appendix elucidates the association of Sadāśiva Dīkshitar with the temple and an attempt is made here to know as to the identity of this famous guardian of the temple and the administration from the reliable evidences of the epigraphs which are mostly in Telugu.

APPENDIX - I

PUJAS AND FESTIVALS

One may wonder why there are not many inscriptions at Tiruvāṇaikkā an important centre of Śaivism regarding the arrangement made for the conduct of festivals, ordinary and special. But in these days the temple authorities are conducting most of the usual festivals and special worship on specified occasions. A pertinent question may arise why we are not getting a connected or continuous account of these festivals through the ages. Sparse as the evidence is in respect of the most of the aspects it is so also in this case. The most plausible explanation one can adduce is that the central shrine and the earlier construction might have undergone severe changes leading to the complete disappearances of the inscriptions of the early period which would have thrown sufficient light on the patronage enjoyed by the temple from the people and also from the Choḷa kings who are very well known for their Śaivite leanings.

Yet an attempt is made here to list such of the festivals and occasions of special worship indicating wherever possible their correspondences of modern times. The total number of festivals instituted during different dynasties is listed here ; Chōḷa-2; Hoysaḷas-6; Pāṇdyas-4; Vijayanagara-3; Madurai Nāyaka-1.
It is to be noted in this connection that all the three festivals instituted during Vijayanagara period are still continued.

The first one[2] dated in 1482 A.D. by vālaka-Kāmaya records gift of 1 <u>vēli</u> of land for the expenses which includes the decorating a <u>maṇḍapa</u> on the festive day, on which the beautiful Lord of Tiruvāṇaikkā is carried in procession to Vadakarai-Venkonkudi for the sacred hunt (<u>tiru-vēṭṭai</u>). This evidently refers to the procession on the day of Vijayadasami which is even now celebrated[3].

The second one[4] is the annual festival instituted by Timmappa-Nāyaka for the merit of Krishnadēvarāya in A.D.1519, with a gift of 1 <u>vēli</u> of land at Vaḍavūr, in Rājagambhira-vaḷanāḍu, for the expenses of worship and offerings on the second day of the annual festival in the temple (see list of festivals.)

The third one[5] dated in A.D.1519 records gift of 12 <u>vēli</u> of land in 3 villages to the temple for the daily requirements of worship to the god and goddess and for Kārttigai <u>tibakkattaḷai</u> by Timmappa-Nāyaka, son of Vaśal Mallappa Nāyaka, an officer of Krishnadēva Maharaja (See list for details).

Besides Sadāśiva Dīkshita who flourished in 17th century instituted 3 festivals which are still continued.

The first one[6] states that Sadāśiva Dīkshitendra made provision for offering 1 taḷigai on every Saṅkrānti day which is still continued. The first day of every Tamil month, there is special food offering which shows that the sandhi instituted by Sadāśiva Dikshita is continued.

The second one[7] states that Sadāśiva Dīkshita provided for offerings to god Chandraśēkhara on amāvāsyā and Saṅkrānti days which is still continued.
The third one[8] dated 1673 states that Sadāśiva vājabēyājiyār-Ayyaṉ instituted a twilight service (prodo-shakaṭṭaḷai) on the day of pradosha which is still continuing.
Besides these three, there are many more occasions on which festivals are conducted or special offerings are made for which we do not get any correspondence in the available inscriptions. We will not be far wrong if we modestly surmise that the following festivals and occasions of worship might have been conducted in ancient times as they are in these days. It should be noted that most of these have been laid down by the concerned āgamas (sagala āgamasaṅgaraham) for being observed. A list of festivals that are conducted which are not found in inscriptions is given below.

Presently, all the first days of the Tamil month are celebrated. Besides the total number of festivals conducted in every month is listed from the calender of festivals published by the Devasthanam is as follows[9];
C̲hittirai-7; Vaikāsi-14; Āṇi-11; Āḍi-14; Āvaṇi-8; Purattasi-17; Aippasi-8; Kārtigai-14; Mārgaḷi-9; Tai-17; Māsi-11; Paṅguṇi-16.
From the above list it is clear that festivals are at its peak during the Tamil month Puraṭṭāśi and Tai and very low in the Tamil month Chittirai.

In the month of Chittirai, Chitra Pauṟnami is an important festival. In the month of Vaikāsi, Vasantha Utsavam is an important festival which is celebrated for 10 days. In the month of Āṇi, Muppaḻa Abishekam is an important festival. In Āḍi, Ādippūram is celebrated. In this month 10 days annual festival is celebrated in a grand manner, grand floating festival or Teppōtsavam takes place in this month (Fig. 25, 25-A). In Āvaṇi, an important festival connected with the mythology of Śiva (Pittukkumaṇ-śumanda)is celebrated. In Puraṭṭāsi Navarattiri is celebrated for 10 days which ends with Vijayadasami on the 10th

day in a grand scale. Religious discourses and music performances will be held in the temple complex. In Kārtigai, Kandasashti is celebrated for 6 days and Chokkapāṉai (Kartigai tībam) is performed during this month. Apart from this, Śankha (conch) abhisekam is performed in all Mondays in this month. In Mārgaḷi, Tiruvembāvai Nōnbu is celebrated. In Tai, Saṅkarānti is celebrated. 12 days special festival is also conducted including Teppam festival. In Māsi, Brahmōtsava is celebrated. In order to honour the famous king Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ[10], a festival is celebrated during this month. In Paṅguṇi, Panchaprākāra mahōutsavam is celebrated[11] (Fig. 26). Tirutthēr, i.e., car festival takes place in this month (Fig. 27) in a very grand manner.

Apart from this, every day six times (Āṟu Kāla pujai) both the main and Amman shrines have food offerings. They are : (1) Ushat-kalam (pre-dawn); (2) Kala-sandhi; (3) ucchikālam (mid-day); (4) sāyaraksha; (5) aindām kālam; (6) ardha jāmam. During ucchi kalam (mid-day worship) the Gurukkal of amman shrine donning female attire and come to the main shrine to offer pujas in accordance with old mythology[12]. There is a link in pūjas between Samayapuram temple in Trichy district and Tiruvāṉaikkā temple. After 45 days fast by Samayapuram Amman, the food and articles for oblations from Tiruvāṉaikkā temple will be offered first to the Goddess of Samayapuram.

There was a festival during Mārgaḷi when God Ranganatha of Śrīraṅgam temple will be taken to the front yard of Akhilāṇḍēśvari shrine which is now given up the reasons of which are not clear.

REFERENCES

1. Tiruvāṇaikkā, an important Śaivite centre might have attracted the attention of the Naṭtukkottai Chettiyars known for their enthusiasm in renovating several Śiva temples all over Tamilnadu. A typical case is that of Tiruvidaimarudur where, though luckily all the inscriptions have been copied and since published (*SII*., Vol.23), the inscribed slabs have all disappeared or perhaps reused after dressing in 1908 within one year of their copying in 1907. It is difficult at this stage now to ascertain whether the same has happened in this case also. Inscriptions were copied first in 1891,1903, 1905, 1908 etc.

   (See *ARSIE*., 1908, pp. 4-5).

2. *ARSIE*., 1891, No.30.
3. *EI*., Vol.3, pp. 72-73.
4. *ARSIE*., 1937, No.107.
5. *Ibid*., 1937, No.105.
6. *Ibid*., 1938, No.18.
7. *Ibid*., No.15.
8. *Ibid*., No.64.
9. Sirappputiruviḷa Nāṭkuṛippu (1982-83), Tiruvāṇaikkā Devastanam Publication.
10. See 'Political History', p.13
11. *Sirapputiruviḷa* *Natkuṛippu* (1982-83), Tiruvāṇaikka Devastanam Publication.
12. See 'Literary Sources', p.251.

APPENDIX - II

SADAŚIVA DIKSHITAR

In the medieval period, Tiruvāṇaikkā was one of the important centres of Śaivism, the others were at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Pandaṇainallūr and Tiruppachchūr. The maṭha was an important agency, which disseminated religious education and imparted moral instruction on the lines of Pāśupatas. The maṭhas gave a new lease of life to Saivism and here, it is our endeavour to examine the historicity of an important figure, who was closely associated with the Pāśupata maṭha of Tiruvāṇaikkā.

Sadāśiva Dīkshita was the executive head of the Tiruvāṇaikkā temple, and he was the pontiff of a maṭha within the complex of the temple. He served as executive head of the temple for nearly 60 years[2] (1655-1715 A.D.) He was the grandson of Śrīkaṇta Ākasavāśi Chandrasekhara Vajpeyayaji who was the first Grahastha (non-celibate) to be appointed as the executive of the temple.
An epigraph[3] engraved on the western wall of first gōpura, near a dilapidated building (maṭha?) reveals that in Śaka 1506, a tirumukham was addressed to Chandraśēkhara guru by Ādhichaṇḍēśvaradēvar who describes himself as mūla-bhṛitya of the god, Tribhuvanapati of the temple. According to this, Chandrasēkhara Guru Uḍaiyār was appointed as a trustee of the temple[4].

Chandraśēkhara Guru Uḍaiyār was thus appointed, and afterwards his son, Mahādēva Dīkshita and he was succeeded by Sadāśiva Dīkshitha who was very popular and held in great esteem and reverence. He performed Vājpēya sacrifice[5], and his inscriptions in the temple, which are 32 describe his career and achievements as the head of Tiruvāṇaikkā temple. He had constructed a temple called Saṅkrālayam. He composed several hymns in Sanskrit on the lord of Tiruvāṇaikkā.

R. Nagaswamy in an article identified Sadāśiva Dīkshitha, the pontiff of the Pāśupata matha at Tiruvāṇaikkā with a wandering ascetic who breathed his last at Nērur near Karūr, Sadāśiva Brihmēndra[6]. However no authentic evidence has been cited to support his contention, and the two philosophers had nothing in common, except their names. Hence it is necessary to examine the historicity of both the philosophers and to see whether such claim deserve any attention.

Firstly Sadāsiva Dīkshithar, was the son of Mahādēva Dīkshitar and grandson of

Sri Chandrasēkhara Guru Udaiyār[7]. All these has been established without any doubt by the epigraphs whereas Sadāśiva Brahmēndra was the son of Sōmasundara Avadāni, a Telugu Brāhmin of Madurai. Sadāśiva Dīkshitar was a married man, and he had a son and a grandson. A copper plate of Mysore king dated in 1752 A.D. mentions the general of the king, Nañjarājayya who donated the income from two villages near Tiruvāṇaikkā in order to feed the Brāhmaṇas of Ekavīrāmbā maṭha and Chandrasēkhara Dīkshitar the grandson of Sadāśiva Dīkshitar was made responsible for such arrangement[8]. Sadāśiva Brahmēndra though married did not lead a married life. He renounced the world soon after his marriage, became a wandering ascetic and performed many miracles. His Guru was Paramaśivēndrar and he composed a stuti on him[9]. The epigraphs of Sadāśiva Dīkshita which record every minute detail never mentioned the name of his "Guru" if at all he had any, and this itself may be taken as an evidence to distinguish the former from Sadāśiva Brihmēndra.

Both the philosophers lived in different periods. Sadāśiva Dīkshitar became a maṭhadhipati in 1655 A.D. even when his father was alive[10]. Assuming that his father Mahadēva Dīkshita lived upto a ripe old age of 80 Sadāśiva Dīkshitar became the pontiff when his father was 70. Assuming Sadāśiva Dīkshitar was born to Mahādeva Dikshita, when the latter was 40 years old and Sadāśiva became a pontiff or maṭhadhipadhi, when he was 30 years old and he continued to serve in that capacity for nearly 60 years and at the time of his death he must have been 90. But we come to know that Sadāśiva Brahmēndra met the Rāja of Pudukkottai, Vijaya Raghunātha in 1738 A.D. and converted him into a Saivite devotee. If we accept both Sadāśiva Dīkshita and Sadāśiva Brahmēndra were one and the same person, then how can we reconcile with the fact that he "met" the king of Pudukottai in 1738 i.e. when Sadāśiva Dīkshita was 113 years old at that time, which was quite incredible. An epigraph of the temple mentions the fact that Sadāśiva Dikshita died in 1715 A.D. or resigned from the headship of the maṭha[11].

In addition to this, a copper plate of Marāṭha king, Shāji, reveals the fact that the father of Sadāśiva Brahmendra obtained the village Tiruvisalūr as Brahmadeya in 1693 A.D., the period when Sadāśiva Dīkshita was a pontiff of Tiruvāṇaikkā temple. At that time, he must have been 68 years old, whereas Sadāśiva Brahmendra was a youth.

Hence all the arguments advanced so far prove conclusively that Sadāśiva Brahmēndra and Sadāśiva Dīkshita were two different personalities, and the former had nothing to do with the latter.

He had built several structures such as Dārukāvana-vilāsam, etc[12]. He had made many donations for conducting several festivals and performing special worship[13]. He ruled with benignity for sixty years[14]. He had constructed a big pillar in the temple called 'Śivanāmatarya Jayastambha'. He had composed several songs in praise of the god of Tiruvāṉaikkā.

REFERENCES

1. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Muṉram Kulottuṅgan, P.77.
2. ARSIE., 1937-38, No.130.
3. Ibid., No.135.
4. The inscription pertaining to the transfer of administration to Chandrasekhara Guru Uḍaiyar is discussed in the chapter on Administration of the temple.
5. ARSIE., 1938, No.16.
6. R. Nagaswamy, Śri Jambukēśvaram Tirukkōyil Mahākumbabishekamalar, P.252.
7. ARSIE., 1938, No.64.
8. Ibid., C.P. No.23.
9. S. Radhakrishna Aiyar, A General History of Pudukottai State (1916), pp. 175-79.
10. ARSIE., 1938, No.57.
11. Ibid., No.130.
12. Ibid., No.70.
13. Ibid., Nos. 18 and 16.
14. Ibid., 1937, No.130.

APPENDIX - III

SELECT LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF TIRUVĀṆAIKKĀ TEMPLE
CHOḶAS

S.No.	King	Date given in the inscription	Equivalent in A.D.	No.and year of collection and/or SII;EI.
1.	(Parāntaka I)	------	-	ARSIE., 1938, No.9.
2.	"	3rd year	909-10 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.10.
3.	"	40th year	946-47 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.8.
4.	Kulōttuṅga I	47th year	1116-17 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.31;SII., Vol.3, No.76
5.	Kulōttuṅga III	7th year	1185 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.20.
6.	"	18th year	1195-96 A.D.	ARSIE., 1908, No.483.
7.	"	19th year	1196-97 A.D.	ARSIE., 1908, No.480.
8.	"	21st year 316th day	1198-99 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.38.
9.	"	21st year 300th day	1198-99 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.39.
10.	Kulōttuṅga III	21st year 316th day	1198-99 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.40.
11.	"	21st year	"	"ARSIE., 1938, No.41.
12.	"	---------	--------	ARSIE., 1908, No.487.
13.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1908, No.486.
14.	Rājarāja III	13th year	1229 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.108.
15.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1937, No.110.
16.	"	16 1st year	1232 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.32.
17.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.34.

18.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.35.
19.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.36.
20.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.37.
21.	"	"	1232-33 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.23; SII., Vol.3, No.424.
22.	[Rājarāja III]	"	1233 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.33.
23.	Rājarāja III.	20th year	1235-36 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.499.
24.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1905, No.507.
25.	"	"	"	AREP., 1903, No.61. SII.,Vol.8, No.336.
26.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.24.
27.	"	22nd year	1237-38 A.D.	AREP., 1903, No.65.SII., Vol.8, No.340.
28.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1937, No.126.
29.	"	24th year	1240 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.508. EL., Vol.IX, p.215.
30.	"	----------	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.13.
31.	"	24th year	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.14.
32.	"	26th year	1241-42 A.D.	AREP., 1903, No.63. SII., Vol.8, No.338.
33.	"	"	"	AREP., 1903, No.64. SII., Vol.8, No.339.
34.	"	28th year	1243 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.31.
35.	"	26th year	1244 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.501.EI., Vol.9, p.215.
36.	Rājarāja III	29th year	1244 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.502.
37.	"	"	1245 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.500.
38.	"	"	1244-45 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.506.

39.	"	"	1245 A.D.	AREP., 1903, No.62. SII., Vol.8, No.337.
40.	"	-	1216-46 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.503.
41.	"	-	1216-46 A.D.	ARSIE., 1905, No.504.
42.	"	-	"	ARSIE., 1905, No.505.
43.	"	"	1216-46 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.65.
44.	Rājēndra III.	3rd year 220th day.	1248-49 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.114.
45.	"	3rd year	1249 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.29.
46.	"	4th year	1250 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.27.
47.	"	6th year	1251 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.73.
48.	"	5th year 142nd day.	1250-51 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.115.
49.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1937, No.116.
50.	Rājēndra III.	5th year 115th day	1250-51 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.117.
51.	"	6th year	1251-52 A.D.	ARSIE., 1908, No.484.

HOYSAḶAS

52.	Vira Someśvaradeva.	2nd year	1234-35 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.18.SII.,Vol.No.4, No.419.
53.	"	3rd year	1235-36 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.121.
54.	"	"	-	ARSIE., 1937, No.119.
55.	"	4th year	1236-37 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.120.
56.	"	5th year	1237-38 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.124.
57.	"	6th year	1238 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.6.

58.	"	-	1238-39 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.5.
59.	"	21st year	1253-54 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.28. SII., Vol.4, No.429.
60.	"	22nd year	1255 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.118.
61.	"	25th year	1257-58 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.122.
62.	"	25th year	-	ARSIE., 1891, No.22. SII., Vol.4, No.423.
63.	Vīra Sōmēśvaradeva.	27th year	1259-60 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.123.
64.	"	"	"	AREP., 1891, No.20. SII., Vol.4, No.421.
65.	"	-	1233-67 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.19. SII., Vol.4, No.420.
66.	Vīra Rāmanāthadēva.	2nd year	1256 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.125.
67.	"	4th year	1257-58 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.21. SII., Vol.4, No.422.
68.	"	6th year	1260 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.12.
69.	"	"	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.25.
70.	"	"	1261 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.26.
71.	"	7th year	1260-61 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.26. SII., Vol.4, No.427.
72.	"	14th year	1267-68 A.D.	ARSIE., 1908, No.485.
73.	"	"	1269 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.4.
74.	"	-	1254-95 A.D.	ARSIE., 1910, No.92.

PAṆḌYAS

75.	[Māravarmaṇ - Sundara Pāṇḍya I]	3rd year	1218-19 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.47.

76.	"	4th year 154th day.	1219-20 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.3.
77.	"	7th year 70th day.	1222-23 A.D.	ARSIE.,1938, No.21.
78.	"	11th year	1227 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.30.
79.	"	-	-	ARSIE., 1908, No.481.
80.	"	-	-	ARSIE., 1908, No.482.
81.	Kō-Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.	10th year	1260 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.32. SII., Vol.4, No.433.
82.	"	-	1251-52 A.D.	AREP., 1891,No.24. SII., Vol.4, No.425.
83.	"	-	-	ARSIE., 1938, No.28.
84.	Kō-Māravarman Kulaśēkharadēva I.	10th year	1278 A.D.	AREP., 1891, No.25. SII., Vol.4, No.426.
85.	-	-	[14th century]	ARSIE., 1938, No.77.

VIJAYANAGARA

86.	[Dēvaraya I]	-	[15th century]	ARSIE., 1938, No.22.
87.	[Dēvaraya II]	-	1427 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.113.
88.	"	Śaka, 1367.	1433-34 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, A.24 (Cp).
89.	"	Śaka, 1357	1435 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.75
90.	"	-	1422-46 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.134.
91.	"	-	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.76.
92.	[Mallikārjuna]	Śaka 1375	1453-54 A.D.	AREP., 1903, No.57; SII., Vol.8, No.342.
93.	[Virupaksha]	Śaka 1392	1470 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.106.

94.	"	Śaka 1394	1471 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.103.
95.	"	-	1475 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.104.
96.	Vālkkāmayar alias Akkalarajar	Śaka 1403	1482 A.D	AREP., 1891,No.30; SII., Vol.4, No.431; EI., Vol.3,p.72.
97.	[Krishna dēvaraya]	Śaka 1441	1519 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.105.
98.	"	Śaka 1441	"	ARSIE., 1937, No.107.

MADURAI NAYAKAS

99.	[Krishnappa Nāyaka]	--	1566 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.7.
100.	[Vīrappa Nāyaka]	Śaka 1500	1578 A.D.	AREP., 1903, No.66; SII., Vol.8, No.341.
101.	"	Śaka 1506	1585 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937, No.135.
102.	Viśvarātha Kṛishna Virappa Nayaka	Śaka 1517	1595 A.D.	ARSIE., 1937 No.136.
103.	[Vīrappa Nāyaka]	--	1572-95 A.D.	ARSIE.,1938, No.1.
104.	"	--	"	ARSIE., 1938, No.2.
105.	Tirumala Nāyaka	Saka 1584	1662 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938,A.25 Cp.
106.	[Vijayaranga Chọkkanatha Nayaka]	-	1721 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.49.
107.	"	-	1722 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.48.
108.	"	-	1706-32 A.D.	ARSIE., 1938, No.42

I. CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

A. EPIGRAPHICAL:

1. Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi - All volumes.
2. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy - 1887 to 1944-45.
3. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy - 1945-46 to 1972-73.
4. Epigraphica Indica, Vols. 1 to 39, Part 1.
5. Epigraphica Andhrica, Vol.4.
6. Indian Antiquory, Vol.l to 62.
7. South Indian Inscriptions - Vols. 1 to 20; 23 and 24.
8. South Indian Temple Inscriptions, ed. by T.N.Subramanian 3 volumes (Madras, 1953).

b. TRADITIONAL AND LITERARY:

1. Dantivanappurāṇam ed., by V.Veeraswami (Madras, 1981).
2. Kōilolugu (Tamil) (Śrīrangam temple chronicle) Madras, 1888., ed., by Krishnamacharyar and others.
3. Madura Vijayam by Gangādēvi published by S.Thiruvenkatachari, Annamalai University Press.
4. Murugavēḷ Paṇṇiru Tirumuṟai - ed., by Sengalvaraya pillai (Madras.)
5. MūvarTēvaram,Talamuṟai, ed., by T.M.Kumarakurubaran,Sri Kumarakurubaran Sangam (1968).
6. Patinōṟām Tirumuṟai, Śaiva Siddhānta Nūṟpatippu Kaḻagam, (Madras, 1971).
7. Periya Tirumoḻi- Nālāyira Divya Prabhandam (Tamil) ed., Mayilai Mahadevadasan, (Madras, 1943).
8. Tiruppugaḻ, Tirupugalāmirtha Kāriyālayam, (Madras, 1968).
9. Tirutōṇdar Mākkadai ed., by Ramanathapillai, Śaiva Siddhānta Nūṟpatippu Kaḻagam, (Madras, 1970)
10. Tiruvāṇaikkā Ulā, ed., by L. Arunachalam (Chokkanatha-puram, 1964).
11. Tiruvāṇaikkāpurāṇam, ed., by M.V. Ramanujachariar, Vanivilas Press, Śrīrangam.

12. Tiruvāchagam, ed., by Ramanatha Pillai, Śaiva Siddhānta Nūṟpathippu Kaḻagam, Madras.

II. MODERN WORKS

1. Altekar, A.S. Rashtrakutas and their times.

2. Appadorai, A. Economic conditions of South India (Madras 1936) 2 volumes.

3. Appulingam Kavai Murugan Piḷḷaittamil(Tamil)

4. Balasubramanyam, S.R. Early Chola Temples (Orient Longman New Delhi, 1971.)

5. " Middle Chola temples (Thomson) Press, India Ltd., Haryana, 1975)

6. Burton Stein Peasant state and society in the Medieval South (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980).

7. Dandapaniswamigal a. Padiganal
b. Yamakaantādi
c. Viṇṇappamalai
d. Tiruppugal (Tamil)

8. Derret, J.D.M. The Hoyśalas (Oxford University Press, Madras, 1957.)

9. Desai, P.B Basaveśvara and his times, Karnataka University, Dharwar,1968.

10. Devahuti Problems of Indian Historiography (D.K.Publications, Delhi, 1979)

11. Evvalur Ramasamy a. Tiruvāṇaikka Amutalingasar Padigam
b. Paduma bhandham

12. Govindaswamy, M.S. The Role of the feudatories in later Chōḻa History (Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar,1979).

13. Gurumurthy, S. Education in south Indian Ancient and Mediaval periods (New Era Publications, Madras-28, 1981).

14. Hall,K.R. Trade and state craft under the Cōḷas (Abhinav Publications, Delhi, 1980).

15. Hari Rao, V.N. The Śrīraṅgam Temple (Tirupati 1967).

16. Harle James Temple Gateways in south India, (Oxford, 1063).

17. Kishore Mohan Gupta. Land system in south India 800 A.D. - 1200 A.D. (Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore.

18. Krishnamurthy, C. The Tiruvoṟṟiyur Temple-A study (Thesis submitted in 1967 - Madras University.)

19. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, S. South India and her Mohammadan Invaders (New Delhi, 1921).

20. Kuttur Subbaiar. Tiruvāṇaikka Padirrupattu antādi.

21. Mahavidvan Minakshi Sundaram Pillai.
a. Akilāṇḍanāyaki malai
b. Akilaṇḍanayaki Piḷḷaittamil

22. Mahalingam, T.V.
a. South Indian Polity (University of Madras,1955).
b. Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar (University of Madras,1940).

23. Majumdar, R.C. The Delhi Sultanate (ed. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay,1960).

24. Manonmani Ammaiyar. Tiruvānikkā antādi.

25. Mohammad Habib Khaliachamad Nizami. A comprehensive history of India, Vol.5, (People's Publishing House, 1970).

26. Muddachari, B. <u>Economic History of karnataka</u>, <u>vijayanagara</u> period (Udaya Prakashana, Mysore, 1982).

27. Narasimhacharyar. <u>Uttama Nambi Vaibhavam</u> (Tamil 1912).

28. Narayanaswamy Pillai, T.M. <u>Tiruvānaikkā-k-kōvil</u> (Tamil Madras university, 1976).

29. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.
a. <u>The Cōḷas</u> (Part I & II University of Madras, 1937,Madras, 1955).
b. <u>The pāṇḍian kingdom</u> (Luzac &Co., London,1929).
c. <u>A History of South India</u>, (Third Edition, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1966).
d. <u>Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration</u> (Madras, 1932).
e. <u>Foreign Notices of south India</u> (Madras, 1939).

30. Nilakanta Sastri K.A. and others. <u>Further Sources of Vijayanagar History</u>, 3 vols. (Madras, 1946).

31. Noboru Karashima and others. <u>Studies in Socio-cultural change in rural village in Tiruchirappalli district</u>, Tamilnadu (1980).

32. Pillai, K.K. <u>The sucindram Temple</u> (Madras,1953).

33. Purnalingam Pillai,M.S. <u>Tamil India</u>, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works (Publishing Society, Tirunelveli, 1963).

34. Radhakrishna Aiyar, S. <u>A Ganeral History of Pudukkottai State</u>, (1916).

35. Radha Kumud Mukerji
a. <u>Chandra Gupta Maurya and his times</u> (William Meyer's lectures).
b. <u>Ancient Indian Education</u>.
c. <u>Local Government in Ancient India</u>

36. Rajamanikkarar, M.
a. Periyapurāṇa Āraychi.
b. <u>The Development of Śaivism in South India</u> (Model Publications, Madras, 1948).

37. Ramachandran. Dikshitar.V.K. — Studies in Tamil Literature and History (Madras, 1936).

38. Ramachandran, T.N. — Tirupparuttikunram and its Temples (Madras, 1934).

39. Raman, K.V. — a. Some Aspects of Pandyan History (1972).
b. Sri varadarajaswami temple Kañchi (New Delhi, 1975).

40. Ramesh, K.V. — A History of South kanara (Karnataka University, Dharwar,1970) .

41. Sadasivappandarattar. T.V. — a. Piṟkalachchoḻar Varaḻaru,(Tamil, 1973).
b. Paṇdiyar Varalaṟu (saiva Siddhantha Publication, Tirunelveli, 1969.)

42. Sastry, P.V.P. — Kakatiyas (Warrangal, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1978).

43. Sathiyanatha Aiyar,R. — History of the Nayakas of Madurai (Oxford University Press, 1924).

44. Sethupillai, P.P. — Urum Perum (Tamil Madras, 1946).

45. Seshachala Nayudu — Tiruvaṇaikka Mummaṇikkovai

46. Sewel Robert — List of Antiquarian Remains in Madras Presidency- 2 vols.(Madras, 1882, 1884).

47. Singara Vadivel Vanniyamundar. — a. Tiruvanaikka antadi.
b. Akilaṇḍanayaki Padiyam.

48. Sivaramamurti, C. — The Choḻa Temples (New Delhi,1960).

49. Soundararajan, K.V. — Indian Temple Styles (New Delhi,1972).

50. Srinivasan, C.R. — Kañchipuram through the ages, (New Delhi, 1979).

51. Srinivasan, K.R. — a. Cave temples of the Pallavas,Pub. ASI., New Delhi.
b. Temples of South India (National Book Trust of india, Delhi).

52. Subramania Ayyar. — Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan (Madras, 1917).

53. Subbarayalu, Y. — Political Geography of the Chola country (Madras, 1973).

54. Tyagaraja Aiyar, A.V. — Indian Architecture - 2 Vols.(1930).

55. Uraiyur Periyaswami Pillai — Padirrupattu antadi.

56. Velayuda Swamigal — a. Akhilanda nayaki padigam

b. Akhilandanadanayaki Pirartanai padigam.

c. Akhilanda Nayaki Nerisai Venba

57. Venkatarama Iyer, K.R. — The Hoysalas in Tamil Country, Annamalai Nagar, 1950)

58. Venkataramanayya, N. — The origin of South Indian Temples, Studies in the third Dynasty of the Vijayanagar (Madras, 1935).

59. Venkata Ratam — Local Government in the Vijayanagara Empire (Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1972).

60. Vriddagirisan. — The Nayakas of Tanjore, (Annamalai, 1942.)

III. ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

1. Burton Stein — The economic function of a medieval Indian Temple - The journal of Asiatic Studies, XIX, (1960).

2. Ballambal, V. — Great Women of Chola Dynasty, Journal of Tamil Studies, Vol.10, international Institute of Tamil Studies, 1976.

3. Krishnan, K.G. — a. Minting industries and process of coining in Tamilnadu (unpublished). Paper presented to the seminar on Ancient industries in Tamil had conducted by Ancient Industrial Department, Tamil University, Tanjavur,1983.

   b. Sanskrit Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu,Dr.B.ch. Chobra Felicitation Volume, Agam Kala Prakasham, New Delhi, 1984.

4. Krishnasastry.H. — Fiscal administration under early Cōḷas, Commemorative essays presented to R.G. Bhandarka, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research institute, 1917.

5. Mahalingam. T.V. — A Family of Pāśupata Gṛhasthas at Jambukēśvaram, The journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.XXV, Parts I-IV.

6. Nambi Arooran.K. — Saiva Mathas in Tamilnadu, world Hindu Arooran, K. Religious Meet, Ceylon, 1982.

7. Nilakanta Sastri, — a. The Economy of a south Indian Temple in the Coḷa period, Malaviya Commemoration Volume,ed., A. B. Dhruva Benaras,Benaras Hindu University, 1932.

   b. Udaiyargudi Inscription of Raja kesari Varman A.D.988, Published in Ep. Indica, Vol. XXI.

8. Noboru Karashima. — a. Allūr and Isanamaṅgalam Two South Indian Villages in Coḷa times, Proceedings of the first international Conference Seminar of Tamil studies Kulalumpur International association of Tamil Research, 1968.

   b. Poiner structure of the Cōḷa rule, paper presented to the IInd International Seminar Conference of Tamil Studies.

	c. Land Transfer as seen in the later Chola inscriptions of Vedaranyam, Homage to a Historian A festschrift, Madurai, 1976.
9. Paul younger.	The role of land lords, kings and priests in the operation of a south Indian Temple, srinidhih, ed., by K.V. Raman And others.
10. Ravipalat	Reintegration of the Agrarian order of medieval South Indian 1936-65.
11. Srinivasan, C.R.	Two inscriptions from Tiruvanaikka,Svasti Sri, Dr.B.ch. Chobra, Felicitation volume, Agam kala Prakasham,New Delhi, 1984.
12. Srinivasan, K.R.	a. The last of the Chola temples, JISOR - XVI (1948) Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South JMU XXXII.
	b. South Indian Paintings in the proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Allahabad, 1944).
	C. Tiru-K-kamakkottam (in South Indian Temple, Proceedings of the all India Oriental Conference, 1946).
13. Subbarayalu, Y.	a. The place of ur in the social and Economic History, Rangavalli Sandeep Prakasham, 1983.
	b. Inscriptional sources for the History of the Cholas of the early Medieval South Indian History, Sources of the History of India, Vol.III, ed. N.R. Ray, 1980.
	c. Classification of land and assessment of land tax in early medieval Tamilnadu,Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 38th session Utkal University (Bhuvaneshwar) 1977.
14. Thirumalai	Allur and Isanama ngalam Revisited, Svasti Sri, Dr.B. Chobra Felicitation Volume, Agam Kala Prakasham, New Delhi, 1984.
15. Venkayya, V.	Irrigation in South India in Ancient Times, Archaeological Report,1907-1908.

IV. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Tiruvaṇaikka Tiruppanimalai, U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Madras.
2. Jambukeśvarasthala Mahanmiyan, Col. Mackenzie collections. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras University.

V. SOUVENIRS

1. Tiruvaṇaikka Kumbhabhisheka Malar, Devasthanam Publication, 1965
2. The Madurai Temple Complex, Arulmighu Meenakshi Sundaresvarar Tirukkoil Kumbabhisheka Souvenir, Devasthanam Publication, 1974.

VI. FELICITATION-VOLUMES

1. Prof.P.B.Desai Felicitation Volume, Studies in Indian History and Culture, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1971.
2. Prof.K.A.Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation volume, Prof.K.A.Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Committee, Madras, 1971.
3. Srinidhih Shri K.R.Srinivasan Festschrih, New Era Publications, Madras, 1983.
4. Svasti Shri, Dr.B.Ch. Chobra Felicitation Volume, Agam Kala Prakasham, Delhi, 1984.

VII. GOVERNMENT RECORDS

Madras District Gazetteers, Trichinopoly, 1907.

*Date of publication not available.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL TERMS USED

1. adhishṯhana : Basement of a vimana, mandapa, or similar structure, forming a distinct architectural feature supporting walls and pilasters or pillars, and consisting of distinct moulded tiers.

2. alpa-vimana : Small, one-storeyed vimana. The parts are adhishṯhana, bhitti or pada, prastara, grīva, śikhara and śtupi. It is usually without a hara.

3. ashta-parivara : Lay out of central shrine with eight surrounding subshrines (including the Nandi shrine) in the cardinal and corner directions.

4. ardha-mandapa : Pillared or astylar vestibule (antarala) hall immediately in front of the principal shrine or distal half of a mandapa with two seriate pillars, as in rock-cut cave temples.

5. bhadra : Central relieved or projected part from each side of the body of the vimana or prasada in which case it is termed ratha, as distinct from the corner projection (karna).

6. devakoshtha : Niche on wall of shrines and maṇḍapas containing sculpture of deity; often crowned by torana or shrine motif, kuṭa śala, pañjara, or kudu, or udgama.

7. gala, grīva : Neck; usually the clerestory raising up the roof (śikhara) with light and air-openings (nasikas) on its sides in the vimana types. The neck is below amalaka in prasada types, but without nasikas.

8. gopura : Main gateway; the storeyed structure over the entrance or entrances through the enclosing walls to the premises of a temple, palace, or city.

9. hara : String of miniature shrines or (aedicules) over each terrace (tala) of the storeyed vimana consisting of kuṭas,koshṭhas, (or śalas) and pañjaras, interconnected by cloister-lengths or balustrades simulating cloisters (harantara).

10. Kalaśa : Wide mouthed vase; lowermost member of the pillar capital, so called after its shape. Also the vase-shaped finial over the amalaha of northern temples.

11. Kapota : Dove, pigeon; overhanging cornice, usually flexed, projecting beyond the principal beam to throw off water from the terrace beyond the beam and joist end or the recesses of the adhishṭhana like the kumuda and padma.

12. Kudu : Nest, an arched or horse shaped opening projected out of a flexed cornice (kapota) originally perhaps intended for entry of roosting birds (kapota) but in later examples filled with human figures (mithuna, etc.) surmounted by a finial. The arch is usually a makara toraṇa.

13. Kumbha : Member of the pillar capital coming above the kalaśa and tāḍi and bulbous in form. Originally a flattened carinate vase with a short, narrow mouth.

14. mahā-maṇḍapa : Pillared hall immediately in front of the ardha-mandapa, or antarala, or the proximal half of a maṇḍapa with two seriate pillars, closed or open, in cave temples.

15. maṇḍapa, maṇḍapam : Open or closed pillared or astylar hall.

16. Mukha-maṇḍapa : First or frontal maṇḍapa of a series at the entrance of a temple, often synonymous with maha-maṇḍapa in earlier temples.

17. Nāsikā : 'Nose'; projected arched opening (window). See alpa-nāsikā, kshudra nasika, maha-nasika and suka-nasika. In Kerala temples it is called Kiḷi vāśal, or parrot beak entrance.

18. Navaranga : Mandapa with four pillars surrounding a central bay, twelve more on the periphery in alignment with the central pillars enclosing eight more bays surrounding the central one and making nine bays in all; characteristic of Chalukyan temples and their derivatives.

19. Padma : Lotus; capital member (doucene) below the phalaka (abacus) shaped like a lotus with petals.

20. Panjara : Miniature apsidal shrine. Same as nīda.

21. Paṭṭika : Projected top slab of the platform or adhishṭhāna in a line with the vertical norm or manasutra-a major moulding of considerable thickness.

22. phalaka : Abacus; wide plank on top of the terminal śaduram or moulded capital of pillar supporting the corbel, or potika. Pali - same as padma, in size and position but without petal markings.

23. Pīṭha : Pedestal, base.

24. Pōtikā : Corbel-bracket over pillar. See taranga potika makara potika, chitra-potika.

25. Praṇāla : Spout projected like a gargoyle to discharge abhisekam water.

26. sabha-mandapa : Mandapa with shrine of Naṭarāja in the southern temples, generally facing south.

27. Śaduram : Square basal, intermediate or terminal section of a pillar separated by octagonal, polygonal, or circular intermediary parts.

28. Śāla-shrine : Vimana of ayatāśra type (Oblong on plan) with barrel-vault roof and a series of stupis on its ridge.

29. Śāla-śikhara : Sikhara peculiar to śala-shrine, barrel vault wagon-top or inverted, keel shaped.

30. Śikhara : Roof of the vimana over the griva, domical or four sided with a single finial, vaulted with many finials on the ridge, or apsidal with many finials over the horizontal part on top. The entire superstructure (anda) of northern prasadas.

31. Stupi, stupika : Finial, morphologically the ushṇisha, taking in later times the form of a purṇa-ghaṭa or purṇa-kumbha, forming the topmost or ultimate member of the vimana, gopura, or any other structure.

32. taḍi : Saucer shaped capital member above the kalaśa and below the kumbha.

33. tala : Storey of the vimana or gopura.

34. torṇa : Free standing ornamental foliar and floral festoon forming entrance supported by two upright columns and often interlaced vertically (jala torana) copied in wood and stone with greater elaboration and earning or taking the form of makara-toraṇa, mounted on two pillars. It precedes the main gate way (gopuras) of cities, palaces and temples. It is often erected temporarily (as is common in South India) on festive occasions on roads leading to cities, palaces and temples. When adorning the doorway as a dvaraśobha, it is called a griha-dvara-torana, or the face,of-a-wall bhitti-toraṇa, where it often frames a niche or deva-koshṭha or suggests an opening ghanadvara. When free-standing; it is designated stambha-toraṇa.

35. Upana : Lowermost part or footing of the basement or adhishṭhana, projecting beyond the vertical norm and surmounted by the jagati. It forms the lower most visible part of the vimana the uppermost limit of the same being the stupi.

36. Upapitha : Additional moulded platform or sub-base below the basement or adhiahṭhana with mouldings repeating those of the adhishṭhana, or often reducedin number, or simpler.

37. Utsava manḍapa : Mandapa in which the processional deities of bronze are kept during celebrations.

38. Vedika : Railing.

39. Vimana : Shrine from upana to stupi (base to finial), the whole shrine consisting of adhishṭhana (basement) pada (pillars) or bhitti (walls), prastara (entablatura), griva (neck or clerestory), śikhara (head or roof), and stupi (finial) in the case of simple vimanas (ekatala); with talas (storeys) intervening between the lowermost prastara below and the griva, śikhara, and stupi above in storeyed vimanas.

40. Vyala : Leonine figure.

41. Vyala-mala, Vyala-vari : Decorative frieze with vyalas usually, as part of the adhishṭhana and on top of the entablature of each tala, marking the ends of the cross-joists in original timber-work.

REFERENCE

1	Sri Jambukeswaswani Sannidhi
2	Sri Akilandeswari Amman Sannidhi
3	Raja Gopuram
4	Mallappan Gopuram
5	Karthigai Gopuram
6	Arivittan Gopuram
7	Manimantapam Gopuram
8	Sankareswarar Gopuram
9	Sundarapandian Gopuram
10	East Gate uncovered passage
11	South Gate covered passage
12	North Gate covered passage
13	Surya Theertham (Adi Theertham)
14	Indra Theertham
15	Jambu Theertham (Sankareswara Theertham)
16	Brahma Theertham
17	Thousand Pillar Mantapam
18	Unjal Mantapam
19	Hundred Pillar Mantapam
20	Esanya Pillaiar Koil
21	Elephant Shed
22	Kasi Viswanathar
23	Meenakshi Mantapam
24	Jambunathar
25	Balasubramaniar
26	Saneeswarar
27	Kurathi Mantapam
28	Sankareswarar
29	Natarajar
30	Prasanna Vinayagar

SRI AKHILANDESWARI JAMBUKESWARAR TEMPLE
THIRUVANAIKOIL
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI (DIST)

SITE PLAN **SCALE : 1 INCH TO 132 FEET**

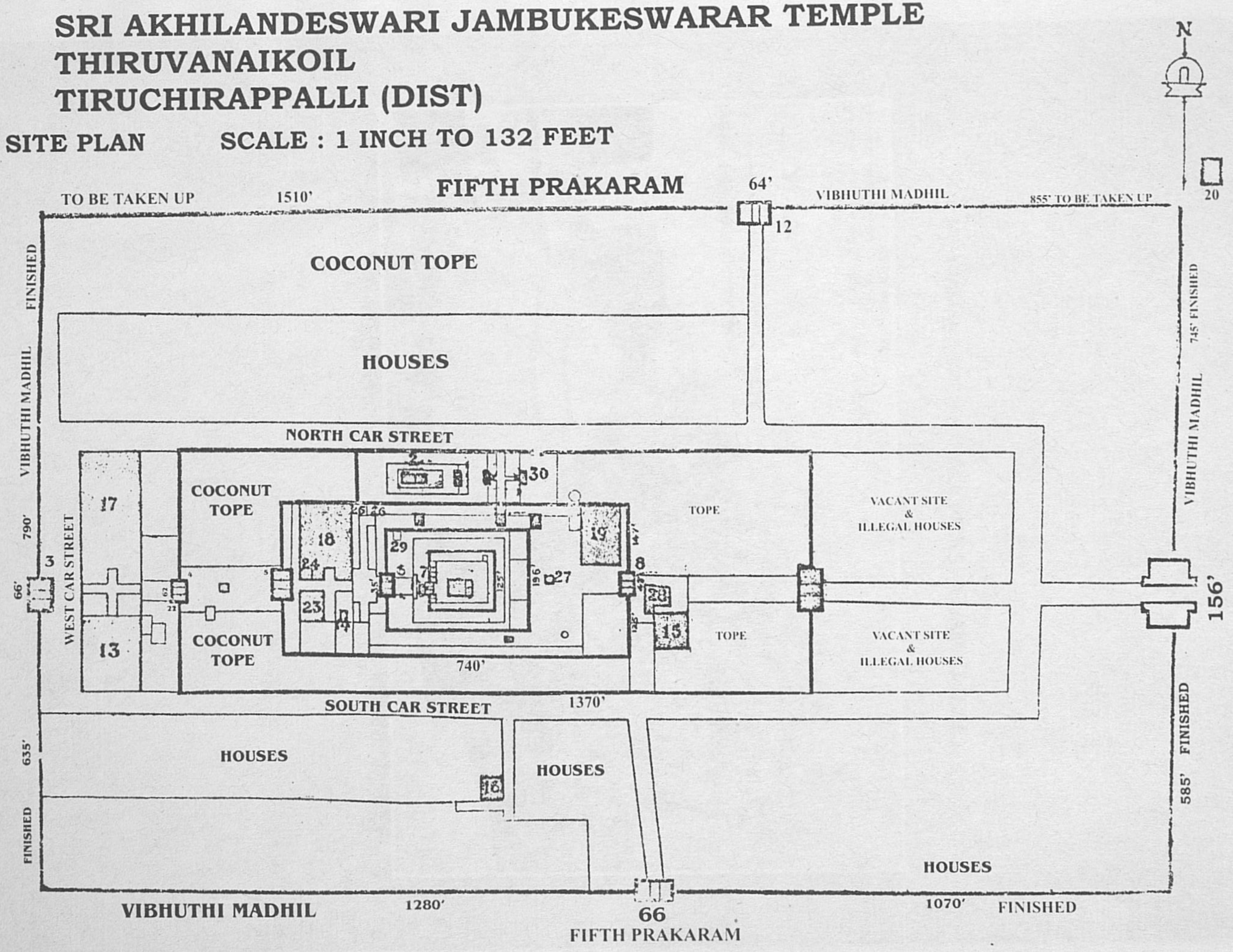


Fig.1 VIMANA WITH STHALA VRIKSHA (JAMBU TREE)

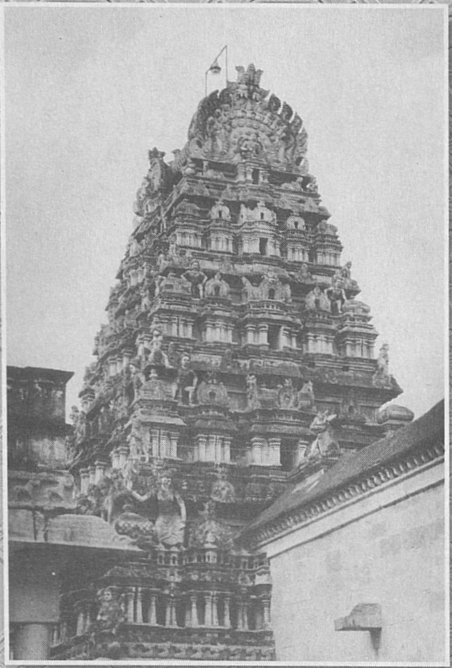


Fig.2 MAṆIMAṆḌAPA GŌPURAM

Fig.3 MAṆIMAṆḌAPA GŌPURAM, SOUTHERN SIDE

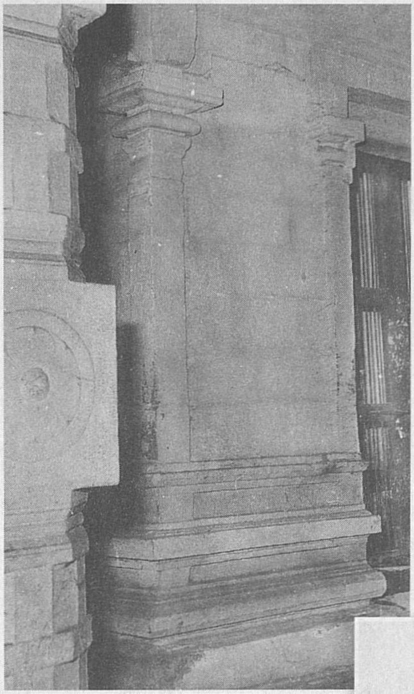


Fig.4 INNER MANḌAPAM, NORTH END,
NATARĀJA SHRINE
FROM ELEVATION

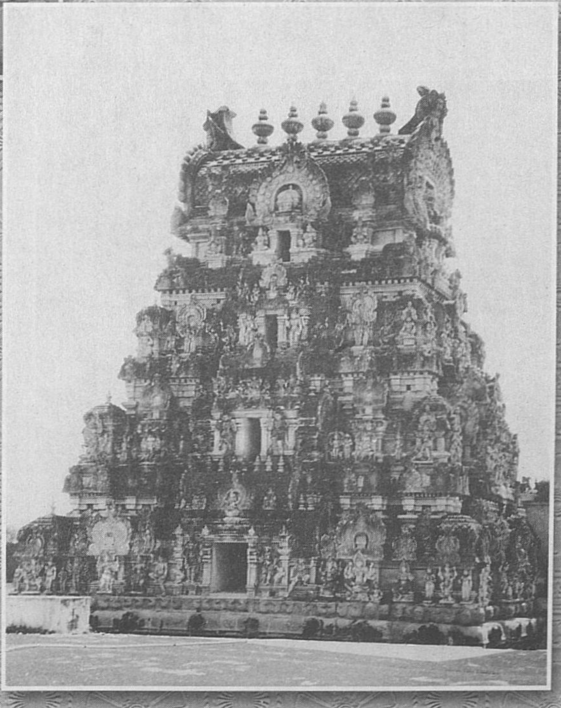


Fig.5 ĀRAVIṬṬĀṈ GŌPURAM

Fig.6 DVĀRAPĀLAKA IN THE NORTH WALL OF THE ĀRAVIṬṬĀṆ GŌPURAM

Fig.6A DVĀRAPĀLAKA IN THE SOUTH WALL OF THE ĀRAVIṬṬĀṆ GŌPURAM

Fig.7

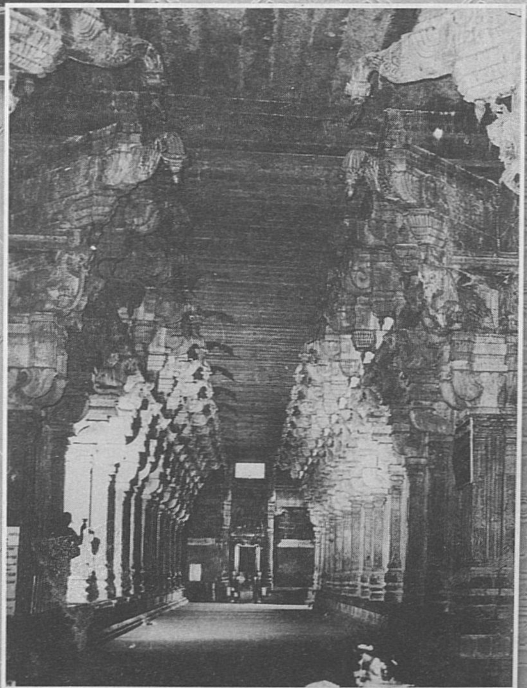


Fig.8

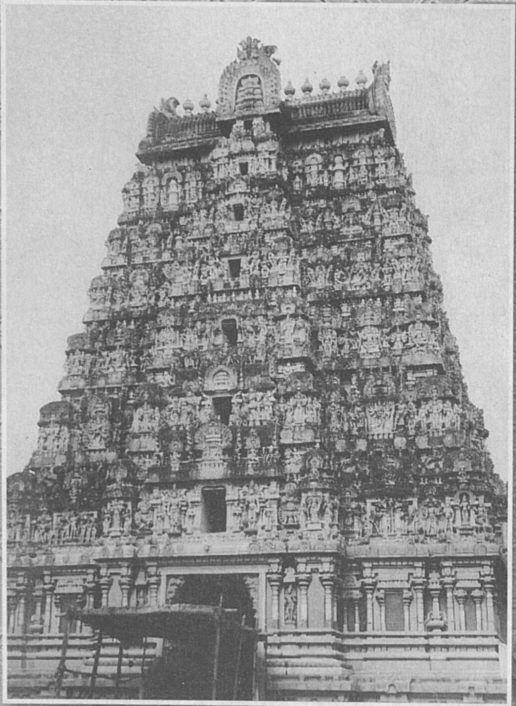


Fig.9 KĀRTHIGAI GŌPURAM

Fig.10 KĀRTHIGAI GŌPURAM,
NORTH EAST CORNER
ELEVATION DETAILS

Fig.11 KURATHI SCULPTURE
IN KURATHI MANDAPAM

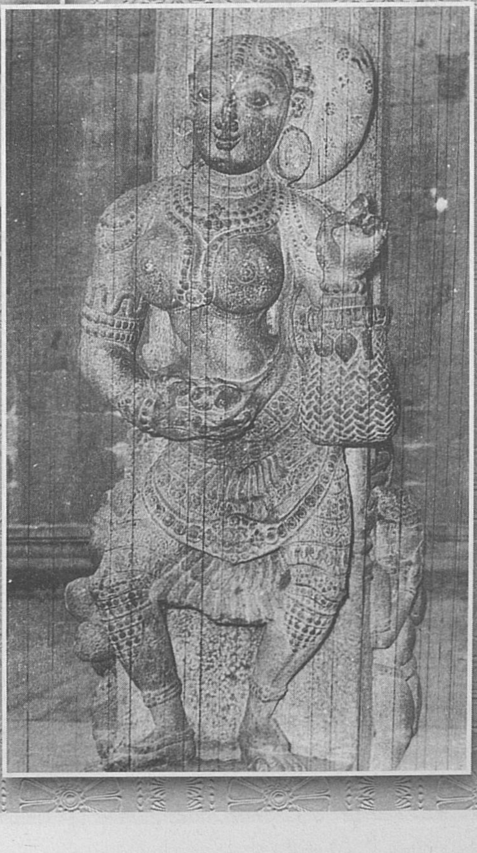


Fig. 11A

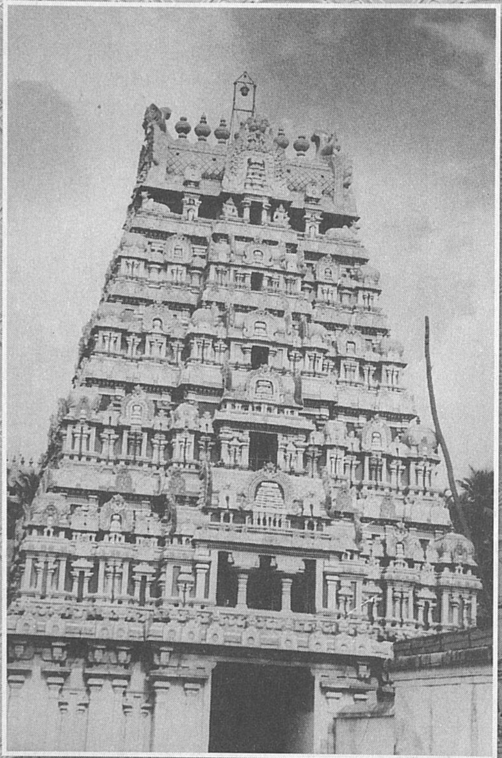


Fig.12 SAṄKARĒŚVARAR GŌPURAM

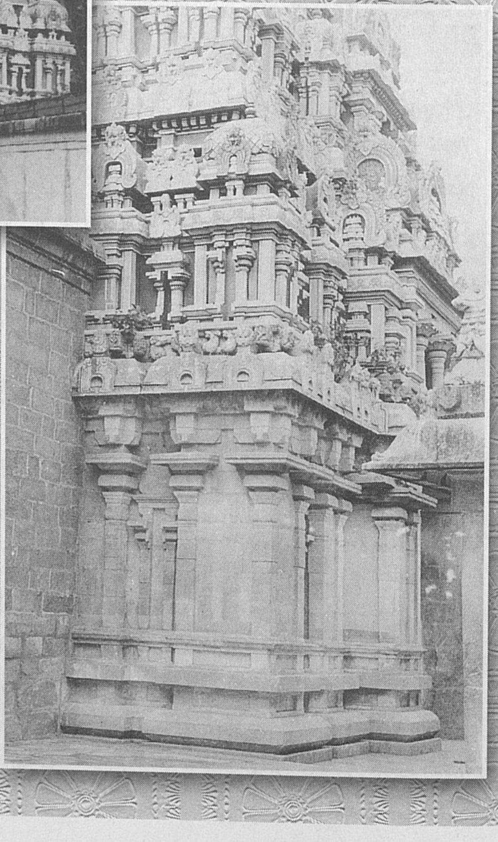


Fig.13 SAṄKARĒŚVARAR GŌPURAM,
SOUTH EAST CORNER

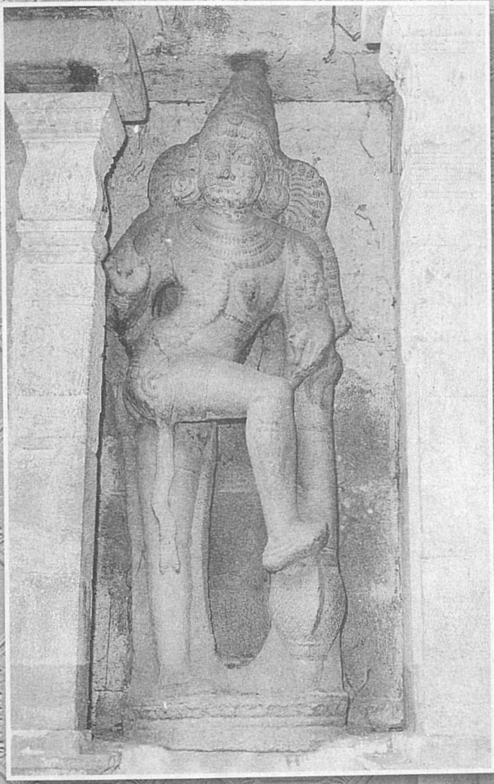


Fig.14 DVĀRAPALAKA IN THE SOUTHERN SIDE OF THE SAṄKAREŚVARAR GŌPURAM

Fig.14A DVĀRAPALAKA IN THE NORTHERN SIDE OF THE SAṄKAREŚVARAR GŌPURAM

Fig.15 MALLAPPAṆ GŌPURAM

Fig.16 MALLAPPAN GŌPURAM,
EAST FACE

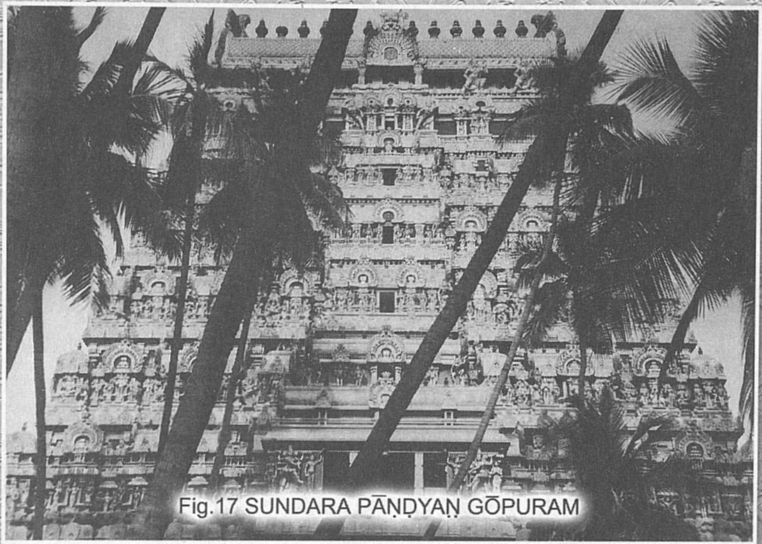
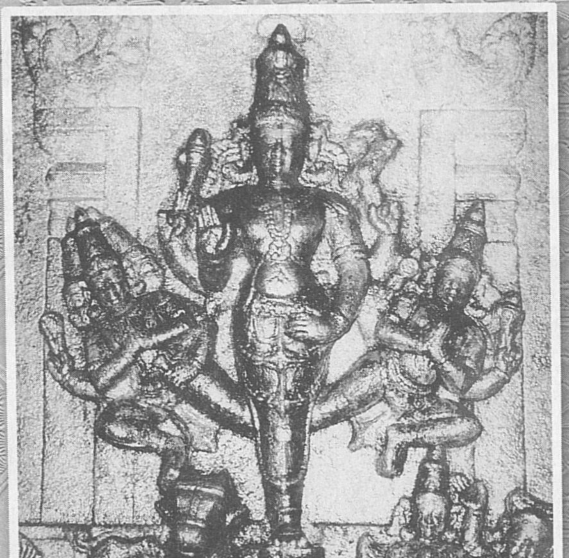


Fig.17 SUNDARA PĀṆḌYAṆ GŌPURAM

Fig.18 SUNDARA PĀṆḌYAN GŌPURAM,EASTERN SIDE SOUTH FLANK

Fig.19 Ekapata murti; Brihma, Siva, Vishnu



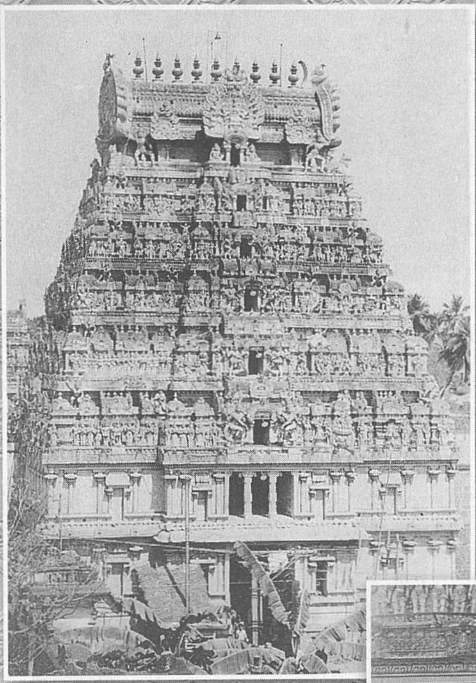


Fig.20 RĀJAGŌPURAM

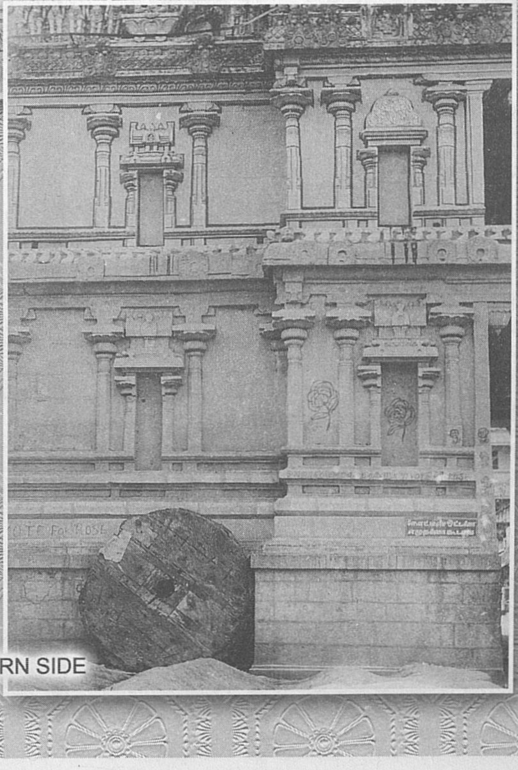


Fig.21 RĀJAGŌPURAM, EASTERN SIDE

Fig.22

Fig.22A

Fig. 23

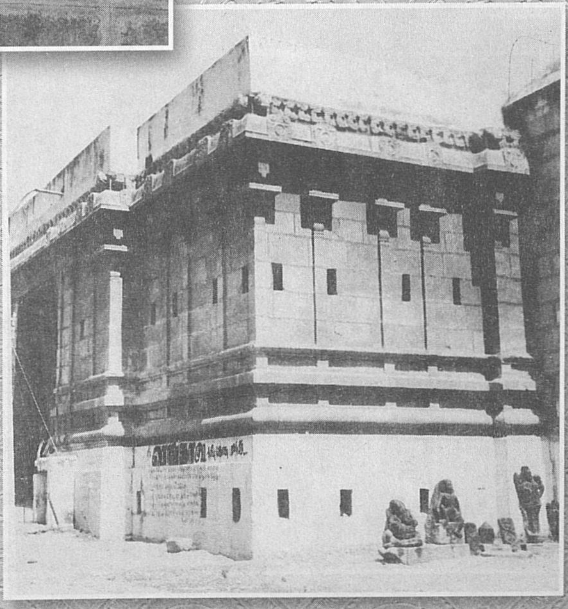


Fig.24 MOTTAI GŌPURAM, SOUTHERN SIDE

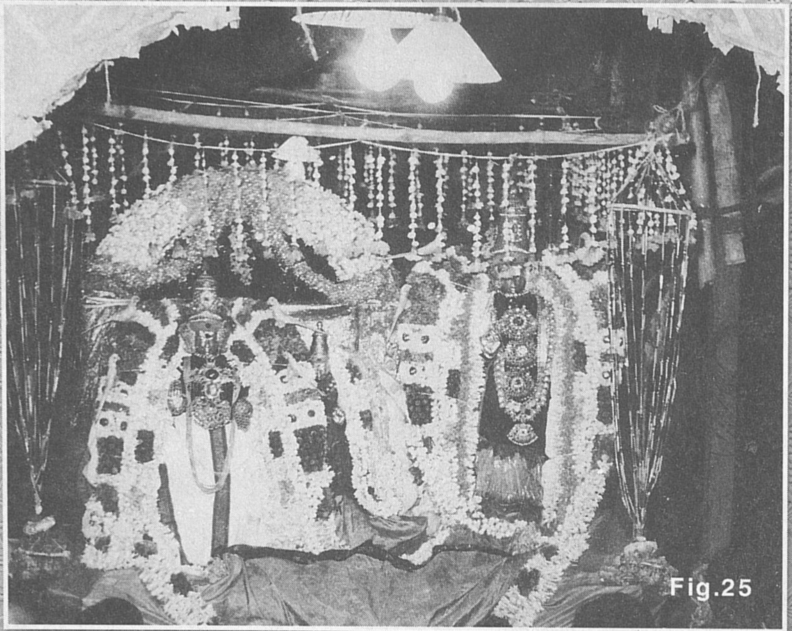


Fig.25

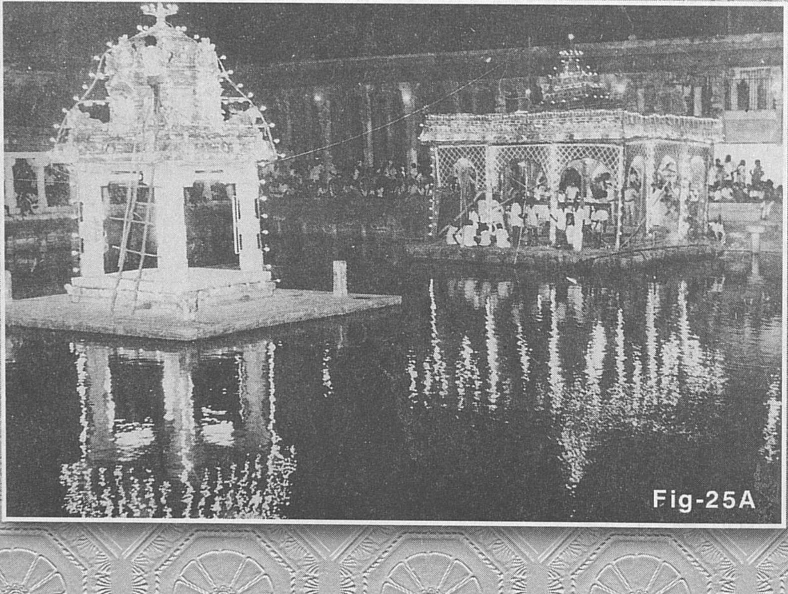


Fig-25A

Fig. 26

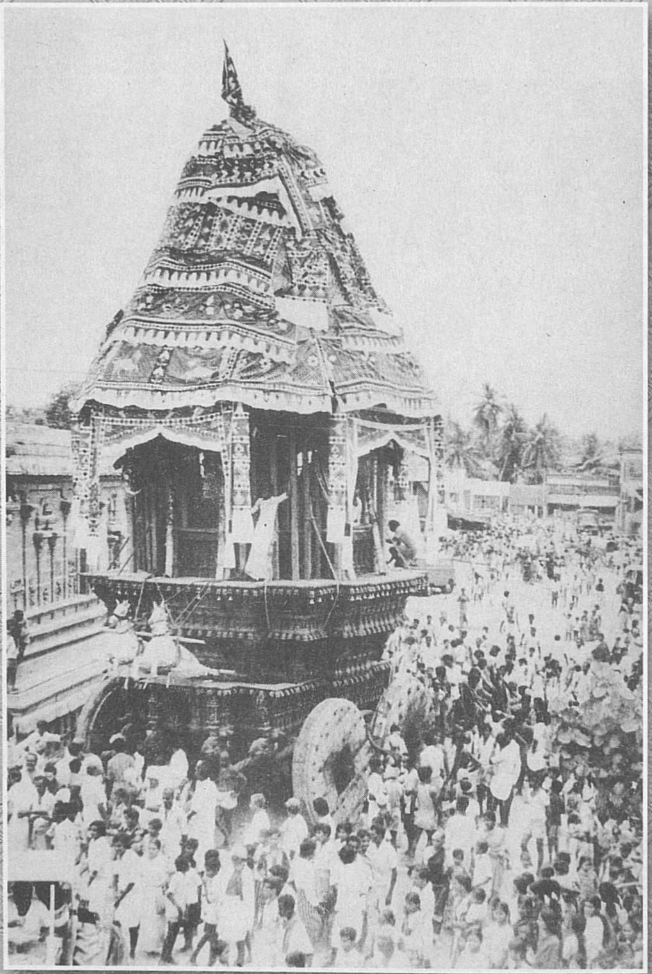


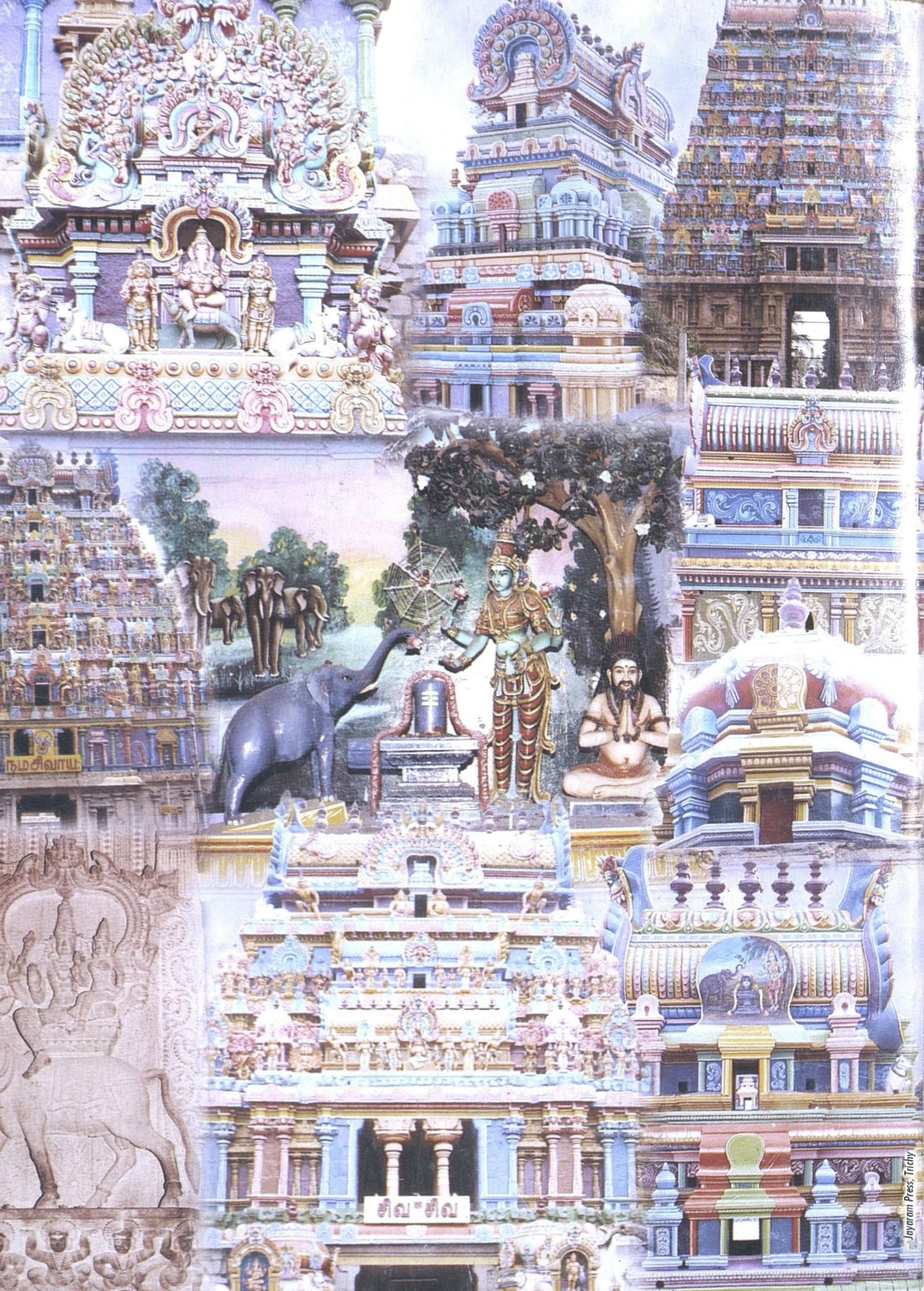
Fig. 27

About the Author

Dr. K. Sekar, an erudite scholar and connoisseur of Tamil literature has a coterie of ardent admirers all over Tamil Nadu, for his felicitous oratory skills. He has a brilliant academic record with an M.A. in Tamil, M.Ed.., and Ph.D. from the University of Madras. Having his moorings in teaching service, he has risen to dizzy heights by dint of hard work and has established himself, at present, as a Member of the Syndicate, Bharathi-dasan, University, Tiruchirappalli. He has presented a number of papers and his speeches are replete with coruscating wit and humour. He has travelled widely that has endowed him with rich knowledge and ripe experience.

To the younger generation, he is a perennial source of zeal and inspiration. His research on the Tiruvāṇaikkā temple (one of the Saivait temples in South India with a legendary lore) is an admirable amalgam of succinct details and rich religious lore.

Price : Rs 400 /-



Jayaram Press, Trichy